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**THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION: THE U.S. NAVY
IN A MILITARY OPERATION OTHER THAN WAR,
1899-1902**

by

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December 2004

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**THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION: THE U.S. NAVY IN A MILITARY
OPERATION OTHER THAN WAR, 1899-1902**

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ABSTRACT

U.S. naval doctrine has been dominated by the Mahanian concept of massing large capital ships for over one hundred years. Yet, it was a *Cyclone*-class patrol craft, a USCG cutter, and an Australian frigate that pushed up the Khor-Abd-Allah waterway and opened up the port of Umm Qasr, Iraq, during the Second Gulf War. They continue to protect it and the surrounding oil infrastructure from insurgent and terrorist attacks today. With the navy's current interest in transformation, the question arises, is the navy as presently configured well suited for today's threats? This thesis explores the question of how should the navy meet threats to national interests. This is accomplished through historical analysis of an event that is similar to the situation today: The Philippine Insurrection (1899-1902). This episode showcases the shortcomings of the navy's conventional approach to military operations other than war, and the need for change. In today's asymmetric environment, the past provides insight into effective means for handling these types of threats. This thesis concludes that the navy needs to diversify itself to incorporate different ship platforms, platforms that incorporate the utility of old with the technology of new.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The old axiom that “those who will not learn from the past are bound to repeat its mistakes” is as valid today as ever. The United States and her military face a pivotal juncture. The Cold War has been over for a decade, but the American military has yet to transform itself into a fighting force ready for the threats of the 21st Century. Large army divisions, air force wings, and naval battle-groups, designed for large-scale conventional war on and over the plains of Europe and the high-seas, are finding it difficult to deal with the asymmetric threats presented by today’s insurgents and terrorist. While the U.S. military battles within itself over what courses of action to take in regards to transformation and asymmetric warfare, it is extremely useful to look at the Philippine Insurrection (1899-1902) for possible answers and lessons. Check alignment all the way

The similarities between the Philippine Insurrection and today are numerous, but the majority are not the primary focus of this study, although their underlying themes are obvious throughout the paper. While there is clearly a need for such work, and it would most assuredly draw immense attention, the topic of this paper deals specifically with the navy in the Philippine Insurrection and concludes with the implications for the navy today. As demonstrated in the proceeding paragraphs, the parallels are there

Even the most cursory analysis of the Philippine Insurrection and the events of today, most notably Operation Iraqi Freedom, demonstrate a host of similarities. While today’s leaders imply that “nation building” and “stability operations” are new concepts that the military is struggling to embrace, one only has to look to the Philippines one hundred years ago to see the U.S. military facing many of the same problems. On May 21, 1898, President William McKinley issued his famous “Benevolent Assimilation” proclamation in which he claimed that the destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila Harbor and the surrender of Spanish forces in Manila, “practically effected the conquest of the Philippine Islands”.¹ Less then two months later, a violent insurrection erupted that

¹ William McKinley, “Benevolent Assimilation Proclamation” (Executive Mansion, Washington, D.C., Dec. 21, 1898), Available [Online] <http://www.boondocksnet.com/centennial/sctexts/assimilation.html> [Oct. 3, 2004].

would take years to quell. While there are dissimilarities between the circumstances of this proclamation and that issued May 2, 2003 by President George W. Bush ending major combat operations in Iraq, there are also parallels.

Iraq witnessed prisoner abuses at the Abu Ghraib prison while the Philippines saw atrocities such as the “water cure”, a method learned from the Spanish to extract information by filling a person’s stomach with water and then squeezing it out of him. The ethnic and religious rifts between Christian Americans, Iraqi Sunnis, Iraqi Shiites, and Iraqi Kurds present similar religious and ethnic problems as those encountered in the Philippines between Protestant Americans, Catholic Filipinos, Muslim Moros, and Tagalog Filipinos. Also strikingly similar is the support initially given to Filipino leader Emilio Aguinaldo by the United States and that of the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon to Ahmed Chalabi. While the support of Aguinaldo backfired on America, it is yet to be seen what will happen with Chalabi, but his increasing distance from the United States does not bode well.

Other similarities include the outside support of insurgents. Today arms and supplies are pouring in across porous borders from Iran, Syria, and Jordan, much the same way Filipino insurgents sought to be supplied by Germany and Japan. Three of the most important comparisons involve strategy, manning, and force structure. The question one-hundred years ago was whether to adopt a policy of appeasement or provocation towards the Filipino population. While appeasement won out initially in the Philippines, it led to what many believed was a view by the Filipinos as American weakness, a theme echoed in Iraq today. The result was the eventual adoption of harsher methods, similar to those being adopted in the Sunni Triangle. Part of this problem was insufficient numbers of troops and the right composition of the occupying forces. The “stop-loss” or “back-door draft” of today replicates the situation as when the United States Volunteers, state militias enlisted for the Spanish-American War, were retained past termination of their contracts in the Philippines at the conclusion of the Spanish-American War because of the burgeoning Philippine Insurrection.

The insurrection became an issue in the 1900 election that pitted President McKinley, seen as an imperialist, against William J. Bryan, who advocated immediate

independence for the ceded territories. The legal problem of “unlawful combatants” is not new. In fact, it predates the Philippine Insurrection, as is seen when the army in the Philippines pushed for the adoption and full implementation of the Lieberman Code, a set of rules governing the conduct of the army in the field in regards to a hostile population that had been issued by President Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War in response to conditions in the border states. In dealing more harshly with the population, a policy of “concentration” was adopted by the army; a method that was used by the Spanish in Cuba and would later appear in South Africa, British Malaysia, and in Vietnam as the “strategic hamlet” program.

At the turn of the 20th Century, America found itself as an emerging world power, seeking to protect her growing economic prowess throughout the world. The task at hand was transforming its military from one of territorial defense to one of global presence. Of course this is not to say that the American military had never exerted its influence abroad, but prior to the Spanish-American War and the following Philippine Insurrection, it had never embarked on such a large-scale permanent occupation abroad save for a rather short campaign in Mexico (1846-1848). To achieve this new mission, the navy adapted to the strategy espoused by prominent military theorist Alfred T. Mahan. But, while America concerned herself with building battleship fleets and deciding where to concentrate its mass, much like the current concern over the Expeditionary Strike Groups, it was not these large capital vessels that were crucial in the Philippine Insurrection.

What can the navy of today learn from the navy of the past? Gunboats and littoral operations have always for the most part been relegated to minor roles within the navy. As Lieutenant Commander John E. Lewis, commanding officer of the gunboats *Mindoro* and *Gardoqui* during the Philippine Insurrection asserted, “gunboats were the stepchild of the Navy. The Navy did not want them and assumed charge only when the army indicated they intended to operate them if the navy did not.”² But it was “In the narrow, shallow waters of the archipelago, the ‘real war’ in the Philippines was fought by the gunboats. . . . they convoyed troops to isolated coastal villages, protected garrisons and

² John E. Lewis to Dudley Knox, May 14, 1945; Operations of Large Groups of Vessels, Squadrons, Asiatic 1887-1902, Subject File OO (SF OO); Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, 1691-1945, Record Group 45 (RG 45); National Archives Building (NAB), Washington, D.C.

patrols, and ferried supplies and reinforcements.”, notes American historian of the Philippine Insurrection, Brian MacAllister Linn.³ Is this pertinent to today’s navy? If you consider that in the major push into Iraq to open up the Khor Abd Allah water way and the port of Umm Qasr, it was a navy coastal patrol craft (PC), Australian frigate, and Coast Guard Cutter that accomplished the task while the naval fleet, too large and too valuable in near coastal areas, remained off shore. Also, the Iraqi oil terminals of Khawr al-Amaya and al-Basra are being protected by the Coast Guard and navy PC’s today.

A. OUTLINE

As stated previously, the purpose of this paper is to explore the role of the navy during the Philippine Insurrection. To accomplish this, a system of chronological analysis is used to present a clear and understandable portrayal of events as they happened. This paper has divided the period (1899-1902) into three sections: from the outbreak of hostilities and the first year of conventional warfare (1899), guerilla warfare in the second year (1900), and the unraveling and final defeat of the insurgency (1901-1902). Each chapter is further divided into specific operational missions that the navy fulfilled, to include cooperation with the army, blockading, and other operations. At the same time, to understand fully the role that the navy played, naval operations must be placed within the context of the overall picture of operations, and for this, there is a large portion devoted to exploring the other half of the equation: the army. It concludes with the argument that there are several important lessons to take away from the Philippine Insurrection, examples that are hopefully not too late to learn.

Chapter I is the introduction to this paper. The chapter explores the relevance of the Philippine Insurrection to events of today and presents the structure of the thesis. The methodology of studying a hundred years old subject requires both primary and secondary sources. The last part of the chapter explains the background to the conflict.

Chapter II opens with the start of the insurrection on February 4, 1899. For the first year of hostilities, conventional warfare dominated the landscape, and the navy’s role was to support land operations. At the same time as the campaigns were being waged

³ Brian M. Linn, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 207.

on land, the navy was also busy trying to enforce a blockade to prevent the importation of arms and other supplies from abroad and within the archipelago. But, while the main focus tended to be on support and blockading, the navy also engaged in “other operations”. These included projecting American presence throughout the islands and acting as a force multiplier where the army could not divert enough strength away from its main campaigns on Luzon. At the end of the first year of hostilities, the army and navy had evolved dramatically to fight the insurgency with a large degree of success. Unfortunately, war is not static, and the insurgents, having learned that they could not defeat the Americans on a conventional battlefield, resorted to guerilla warfare.

Chapter III deals with the change in strategy of the insurgents into one of guerilla warfare. In conventional operations, the support of the populace for the insurgents was not critical because American forces pummeled the Filipino army on the battlefield, destroying its ranks, arms, and supplies. But, under guerilla warfare, the insurgents drew their strength from the populace and it would take a year until Americans evolved a strategy for dealing with this. Counter-insurgency operations in a maritime environment required close army/navy cooperation. The navy was also forced to maintain a blockade over an expanded area. Meanwhile, the China Relief Expedition siphoned off troops and ships to deal with the Boxer Rebellion (May to August, 1900). At the close of 1900, the insurrection had maintained its momentum. The U.S. military finally realized that moderation would not prevent the insurgents from winning over or controlling the population. So, a harsher strategy was decided on for the next year.

Chapter IV deals with the final phase of the insurrection. After the reelection of McKinley in 1900, the combination of the adoption of harsher methods, and the army/navy reaching their peak strength, caused the insurgency to fade. As the U.S. military began confiscating and destroying property of insurgent supporters, and arresting and deporting sympathizers, native support for the insurgency began to wane. By 1901 insurgent generals began to capitulate, and with the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo on March 23, 1901, all but a few persistent insurgents remained after May. However, in the Province of Batangas, in Luzon, and on the Island of Samar, the insurgents remained active for almost another year. But, with the blockade cutting off supplies and the

constant pursuit by the army, the last of the insurgent generals was finally defeated. On July 4, 1902, President Theodore Roosevelt proclaimed the end to hostilities.

In the aftermath of the Philippine Insurrection, it is clear that the navy's role was to cooperate with the army and enforce a blockade. These two objectives were met with great success. The gunboat and not the battleship was the vessel that secured America's interest in the Philippines. The utility of the gunboat was immeasurable: it allowed the army to conduct amphibious operations and extended its operational and tactical reach. The overarching problem for the Americans was to evolve an effective counter-insurgency strategy that separated the combatant and combatant-supporter. In conclusion, to combat an asymmetric threat, which any enemy will try to present, it is incumbent to meet it with a force appropriately tailored for the mission. Aircraft carriers, cruisers, and destroyers do not completely fulfill this requirement as battleships and cruisers did not during the Philippine Insurrection. The navy needs the flexibility allowed by a variety of platforms, and as learned 100 years ago, small-littoral gunboats provide such agility.

B. METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH

When using the MERLN/WorldCat search engine, which has access to the OCLC Online Union Catalog to over 9,000 libraries, typing in the "Philippine Insurrection" results in 384 records found. Type in the "Boxer Rebellion" and the result is 1,394 records for a conflict that erupted in May 1900, and ended in August with the lifting of the siege of Peking, barely three months. The "Spanish-American War", which started on April 25, 1898 with the U.S. declaration of war, ceased hostilities on August 13, 1898, returns with 6,091 records found. It is only through the efforts of Brian MacAllister Linn that there seems to be a recent swell in interest on the subject of the Philippine Insurrection, and with the similarities with the situation in Iraq, this should only increase. This is the context of a thesis that seeks to discover the navy's role in the Philippine Insurrection.

The starting point for this project was to search through secondary sources and ascertain what primary sources were used by previous and much more enlightened scholars. The majority of the literature (99.9%) on the Philippine Insurrection can be

grouped into two areas: that concerning the army, and that concerning the political aspect of the war, neither of which are the major focus of this study. But, the majority of these writings did identify six military primary sources (groups). These sources provided the bulk of material for this research and included the annual reports of the Department of the Navy and the War Department; personal accounts by such individuals as Bradley A. Fisk, Frederick Sawyer, and General Frederick Funston respectively; the compilation of insurgent documents by John R. Taylor, the War Department's correspondence relating to the insurrection; but most importantly, records within the National Archives.

The constant obstacles encountered with the primary sources centered on several facets. During the first year of hostilities, gunboats were assigned to "parent ships" and thus made their reports to them. Unfortunately, it seems that these reports went no further. Another problem is that of the condition of primary documents. Many reports were hand written, and not to be critical of the officers of the time, were illegible, or at least to the point that, time being of the essence, not usable for this study. A great deal of the documents used carbon copy paper, which has over time, faded or disappeared to the point of illegibility. What is left is still a good deal of material, but it is sporadic and incomplete. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to present these accounts and deduce from them a coherent account of what actually transpired. In this effort, secondary sources proved most useful.

Much of the secondary writing on the Philippine Insurrection deals with the political aspect of the conflict. The decision to annex the Philippines, how and why, is the subject of much discussion. On the same scale, much has been written on the army in the insurrection. Unfortunately, the volumes written about the army center solely on it, or often use the battles on Samar and Batangas, the most controversial, as a basis for describing the whole war. There are a number of texts by Filipinos that present a unique view into the occurrences of specific locations such as on Leyte or Cebu. But, while informative, they tend to be a bit limited in scope and view. The rest of the literature is usually composed of compilations that devote a small portion to the conflict and usually adhere to received views. Two books proved to be most valuable: Brian McAllister Linn's, *The Philippine War, 1899-1902* is an excellent, well researched, and neutral

presentation of the conflict.⁴ This one work was the “go to” book. While the main focus was the army, Linn paid due attention to the accomplishments of the navy and the other facets of the conflict. The other work was the doctoral dissertation of Vernon L. Williams, “The U.S. Navy in the Philippine Insurrection and Subsequent Native Unrest, 1898-1906”.⁵ While this title may appear as overlapping, that is not the case. Williams’ focus is almost solely on the navy in the Philippines and its impact on the service. He does not present the navy’s role in the context of the larger picture - that is, the navy’s association with the army and its strategy. Furthermore, he extends his study out to 1906 and studies the career trends of the young officers who served aboard the gunboats in the Philippines and naval base development.

Rarely does the secondary literature present an overall account of the complexities of the conflict, including the navy, but usually repeats accepted interpretations. A case in point is the conduct of Brigadier General James F. Smith who has been vilified by most for his command on Samar. ⁶ While it is alleged that Smith ordered the interior of the island to be transformed into a “howling wilderness”, in fact he simply adopted the policies of his predecessor, Brigadier General Robert Hughes, who had been employing them for two years throughout the Visayan Island group. Another area lacking in current writing is in regard to the causal linkages between the policies adopted by the military and the background of these military leaders who were often Civil War veterans and Indian fighters. This study hopes to correct these lacunae.

C. PRE-HOSTILITIES

The focus of this paper is the navy’s role in the Philippine Insurrection, so the issues of the Spanish-American War, why the U.S. annexed the Philippines and why hostilities broke out, are dealt with only summarily. But, like so many other things, they do have an influence on the navy’s role inasmuch as they shaped the conflict. For this

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Vernon L. Williams, “The U.S. Navy in the Philippine Insurrection and Subsequent Native Unrest, 1898-1906”, Ph.D. diss., Texas A&M University, 1985.

⁶Richard E. Dupay and William H. Baumer, *The Little Wars of the United States* (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 2003), 89-93.

reason, it is necessary briefly to discuss what was happening prior to the start of the Philippine Insurrection.

The turn of the 20th century found America in a period of transition. The political ideology of the time was taking a new form. Social Darwinism was prevalent during the 1890's which helped feed the climate for expansionism. In 1890 the frontier was claimed to no longer exist (Frederick Jackson Turner) and this pronouncement was followed by a depression that lasted from 1893 to 1897. In 1890, Captain Alfred T. Mahan published his book on naval strategy, *The influence of sea power upon history, 1660-1783*.⁷ The rest of the world was scrambling for colonies, and America believed that it required outlets for its surplus goods and capital, so some leaders started looking beyond the nation's borders. Senator Orville Platt advised, "It is to the oceans that our children must look as we once looked to the boundless west."⁸ At the same time, the United States faced threats to the Monroe Doctrine in the Atlantic and the Open Door policy in the Pacific. While in Hong Kong preparing for war with Spain in November 1897, Commodore George Dewey recounted how there was uneasiness as foreign nations awaited the dismemberment of China which they foresaw as imminent.⁹

In 1896, a young Lieutenant William W. Kimball, under direction of the Office of Naval Intelligence, drafted plans for war against Spain. The war plans advocated the attacking of colonies, which when inadequately defended are in time of war a source of serious weakness for the mother country. The plans called for the destruction of Spanish power in the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico, which was seen as the best way to force Madrid to come to terms. But the retention of colonies once they were conquered was not

⁷ Alfred T. Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History, 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1890).

⁸ Stuart Creighton Miller, *Benevolent Assimilation: The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899-1903* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), 5-7.

⁹ George S. Dewey, *Autobiography of George Dewey: Admiral of the Navy* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1913), 160.

addressed. It was these war plans that the Naval War Board endorsed for the war with Spain, which commenced on April 24, 1898.¹⁰

On the morning of May 1, 1898, Rear Admiral George S. Dewey's squadron (cruisers *Olympia*, *Boston*, *Raleigh*, *Baltimore*, and gunboats *Concord*, and *Petrel*) entered Manila Bay and after a brief battle, destroyed the Spanish squadron under Spanish Rear Admiral Patricio Montojo (the Spanish squadron included the antiquated cruisers *Reina Cristina* and *Castilla*, and gunboats *Don Juan de Austria*, *Don Antonio de Ullao*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Velasco*, *Marques del Duero*, *Isla de Mindanao*).¹¹ After the battle, the gunboat *Petrel* was sent into shore to clean up what was left of the Spanish squadron and bombard the Spanish arsenal at Cavite. After firing a few rounds of her main batteries, Montojo raised the white flag and officially surrendered. The next step of the navy was to cut off the enemy's commerce in and around Manila as the first step in weakening enemy resistance.¹² By May 12, 1898, Dewey and his ships were maintaining a strict blockade around the city.¹³ In May, the Spanish gunboats *Callao* and *Manila* were captured and put into service by the navy, and realizing the utility of such small shallow draft vessels, Dewey requested that the gunboats *Bennington* and *Yorktown* be sent instead of the cruiser *Philadelphia*.¹⁴ In detailing the instructions for the occupation of the Philippines by the military, President McKinley stated that "All ports and places in the Philippines which may be in the actual possession of our land and naval forces will be opened, while our military occupation may continue, to the commerce of all neutral nations, as well as our own, in articles not contraband of war."¹⁵

¹⁰ John D. Long, *The New American Navy* (New York: The Outlook Company, 1903), 165-166; Ronald Spector, *Admiral of the New Empire: The Life and Career of George Dewey* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), 32-36.

¹¹ Bradley A. Fiske, *War Time in Manila* (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1913), 25-28.

¹² Dewey, 196-197, 206, 221.

¹³ United States Navy Department, *Annual Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation* (Washington: GPO, 1898), 67, 97, 118, 124.

¹⁴ Navy, 1000-1001.

¹⁵ William McKinley, President, to Secretary of War (SECWAR), May 19, 1898, *Correspondence Relating to the War With Spain and Conditions Growing Out of Same, Insurrection in the Philippines, and China Relief Expedition*, comp. United States War Department Adjunct General's Office, vol. 2 (Washington: GPO, 1902), 676-678.

After Dewey annihilated Spanish naval forces in Manila Bay, the army prepared to fight Spanish land forces. Major General Wesley Merritt, commanding the Philippine Expedition (Department of the Pacific, 8th Army Corps), requested 12,000 field soldiers plus support personnel. However, Major General Nelson A. Miles, Commanding General of the Army, recommended a force consisting of more volunteer troops and fewer regulars, and a lighter composition with infantry and cavalry.. Merritt responded that the force (recommended by Miles) would be unsuited and insufficient for the Philippines, some 7,000 miles from base, defended by 10,000-25,000 Spanish led forces, and inhabited by 14,000,000 people “the majority whom will regard us with the intense hatred born of race and religion”. Miles countered that it was not U.S. policy to conquer an extensive territory, but only take Manila and relieve the navy.¹⁶ By late May, with McKinley’s refusal to provide clear guidance and Miles’ efforts to restrict the size and composition of the 8th Corps, the Secretary of War came to a compromise and decided to send a force of 20,000 troops.¹⁷

The blockade of Manila was entirely at the discretion of Dewey. Because of the lengthy time required to communicate, all matters of the management of affairs were left up to him.¹⁸ So, as Dewey besieged the Spanish from the sea, he sought the assistance of Filipinos on Land. Dewey recommended supplying the Filipino insurgents, American allies at the time, with arms and ammunition. From the captured Cavite Spanish Arsenal, Dewey provided the insurgents with rifles and cartridges. ¹⁹ In Hong Kong, Consul General Rounseville Wildman assisted insurgent attempts to purchase arms. But a shipment was stopped by the Chinese and British authorities. On June 23, 1898, Aguinaldo declared open revolution by the Filipinos against the Spanish, and on July 1, 1898, he declared himself president of the Republic of the Philippines. In August he

¹⁶ Miles to SECWAR, May 18, 1898, *Correspondence*, 648-649.

¹⁷ AGWAR to Merritt, May 29, 1898, *ibid.*, 680; Wesley Merritt, to William McKinley, May 13, 1898, *idem*, 643-644; Nelson A. Miles to SECWAR, May 16, 1898, *idem*, 647-648; Merritt to SECWAR, May 17, 1898, *idem*, 648.

¹⁸ SECNAV to Henry W. Peabody & Co., Jun. 8, 1898; Area File 10 (AF 10) of the Naval Records Collection, 1775-1910 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M625); RG45; NAB.

¹⁹ Alvey A. Adey, Second Assistant Secretary of the Navy, to SECWAR, May 21, 1898, *Correspondence*, 665; SECNAV to SECWAR, May 27, 1898, *idem*.

declared independence.²⁰ The insurgent Filipino army at this time was reported to field about 37,000 troops, but only possessed 6,600 rifles, taken from the Spanish.²¹ In a prophetic message, U.S. Army Brigadier General Anderson wrote that,

These people [Filipinos] only respect force and firmness. I submit, with all difference, that we have heretofore underrated the native. They are not ignorant, savage tribes, but have a civilization of their own; and though insignificant in appearance are fierce fighters²²

Within in a year, these “fierce fighters” would launch an insurrection to oppose U.S. plans to colonize the Philippines.

With the American squadron, supplemented by the arrivals of the cruiser *Charleston*, and monitors *Monterey* and *Monadnock*, under Dewey, and army forces under Merritt, the city of Manila fell on August 13, 1898, a day after peace protocols had been signed between Spain and the United States. Dewey immediately lifted the blockade and opened the port to trade.²³ President McKinley called for U.S. forces to occupy and hold the city of Manila, the bay, and harbor pending the signing of a treaty and to commence trade and protect Spanish interests.²⁴ General Merritt for his part, having captured Manila, recommended that no more troops be sent to the Philippines.²⁵

In the only report found from the Naval War Board, dated August 19, 1898, two threats in the Philippines were indentified.²⁶ First, the insurgents might turn to overt acts

²⁰ Rounseville Wildman, Consul General Hong Kong, to Emilio Aguinaldo, Jun. 28, 1898, John R. Taylor, comp., *The Philippine Insurrection Against the United States: a Compilation of Documents with Notes and Introduction*, vol. 4 (Pasay City, PI: Eugenio Lopez Foundation, 1971), 259; F. Agoncillo to Mr. Rost (E. Aguinaldo), May 27, 1898, Taylor, 3: 238-239.

²¹ Oscar F. Williams, Manila Consul General, to SECWAR, Jul. 6, 1898, *Correspondence*, 718-719.

²² Thomas M. Anderson, Brigadier General U.S. Volunteers, to Adjutant General of the War Department (AGWAR), Jul. 21, 1898, *ibid.*, 809.

²³ George S. Dewey, Commander-in-Chief Naval Forces on Asiatic Station (CINC Asiatic), to SECNAV, September 19, 1898; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

²⁴ Navy, 67, 97, 118, 124; Dewey to SECNAV, Aug. 26, 1898; AF 10; RG45; NAB; McKinley to SECWAR, Aug. 12, 1898, *Correspondence*, 750-751; Wildman to Day, Aug 15, 1898, *idem*, 752; Merritt to AGWAR, Aug. 17, 1898, *idem*, 754; AGWAR to Merritt, Aug. 17, 1898, *idem*; Merritt to AGWAR, Aug. 18, 1898, *idem*.

²⁵ AGWAR to Merritt, Aug. 20, 1898, *ibid.*, 756.

²⁶ Naval War Board consisted of Captain Alfred T. Mahan, Captain Albert S. Barker, Rear Admiral Arent S. Crowninshield, and Commander Richardson Glover.

of disorderly conduct which the army and Dewey would be forced to repress. Alternatively, foreign powers, claiming that their interests were threatened, would assert their right to intervene. The recommendation of the board was to send a division of two battleships and an appropriate number of cruisers to reinforce Dewey. The intent was to demonstrate the power of the United States to repress internal disorder or oppose outside intervention in the region, both to insurgents and to foreign powers.²⁷

Major General Elwell Otis relieved Merritt on August 29, 1898. By this time it was reported that the insurgents entrenched around Manila numbered about 15,000, with 11,000 armed, mostly with rifles taken from the Spanish or given by Dewey.²⁸ Even though relations were somewhat strained between the Americans and Filipinos, originating from the exclusion of Filipinos from occupying Manila, they remained cordial, and free trade was granted to Filipino vessels in and around Manila.²⁹ But by September, charged with protecting the Spanish and hearing that the insurgents were launching attacks on them throughout the archipelago, the American senior leadership in Manila became worried. Otis estimated that he faced about 30,000 Filipino troops in and around Manila, and that the insurgents might be seeking assistance from the Japanese; he thought war a possibility.³⁰ On September 23, 1898, the American steamer *Abby* was seized off the port of Batangas, Southern Luzon, by the navy. Unfortunately, she had already unloaded her cargo of arms and ammunition for the insurgents.³¹ Dewey also began to detain Filipino vessels in Manila Bay for flying the insurgent flag because he viewed them as a threat to U.S. authority.³² Meanwhile, on October 3, 1898, Otis pressed for the opening up of foreign trade in the Philippines' major ports of entry: Manila, Iloilo on Panay, and Cebu on Cebu.³³ Unbeknownst to the Americans, the insurgents were

²⁷ Montgomery Sicard, Rear Admiral, President of the Naval War Board, to SECNAV, Aug. 19, 1898; AF 10; RG45; NAB.

²⁸ Thomas M. Anderson, Brigadier General, to AGWAR, Aug. 29, 1898, *Correspondence*, 777-780.

²⁹ Merritt to Emilio Aguinaldo, Aug. 24, 1898, *ibid.*, 819.

³⁰ Otis to AGWAR, Sep. 12, 1898, *ibid.*, 804-805.

³¹ Dewey to SECNAV, Sep. 27, 1898; AF 10; RG 45; NAB; SECNAV to Dewey, Sep. 27, 1898, *idem.*

³² Dewey to Otis, Oct. 26, 1898, *ibid.*

³³ Otis to AGWAR, Oct. 3, 1898, *Correspondence*, 798.

already collecting a 5-15% duty on all trade within the islands in efforts to supplement the insurgent governments' funds.³⁴

In November 1898, the situation continued to deteriorate. Aguinaldo was preaching independence. He claimed that the Americans must be driven out, and was seeking to obtain the protection of Japan.³⁵ While Consul General Wildman was pressured to stop assisting the insurgents in importing arms, the insurgents tried to obtain arms using other means. Using money raised through a loan from banks, the insurgents purchased Mauser rifles, several tons of powder, small arms ammunition, and were looking into six 6-pounder (pdr.) field pieces. The supposed method of operation was to purchase the arms in Hong Kong, consigned to the Chinese government at Shanghai, which would decline to receive them. But on the return voyage, instead of going to Hong Kong, the vessel would sail to Luzon for Aparri or Lingayen Bay.³⁶ Unfortunately for the Filipinos, the company that they entrusted, Sylveste and Company, welched on the deal, and took their money and arms. Since the trade was illegal to begin with, the Filipinos had no recourse.³⁷ The increased insurgent activity forced the Spanish to consolidate and withdraw their forces to the city of Iloilo on the island of Panay.³⁸

As peace treaty negotiations began in Paris and the likelihood of Philippine annexation by the United States seemed likely, Otis recommended that seven main posts would be required with several detached garrisons to hold the islands. Though the locations were not mentioned in his correspondence, Otis stated that the total required strength would be 25,000 U.S. troops, and their dispersement would depend on the behavior of the inhabitants.³⁹ At this same time, President McKinley ordered that no arms or munitions of war were to be landed in the Philippines.⁴⁰

³⁴ Letter from Malolos, insurgent capital, Oct. 14, 1898, Taylor, 3: 562-563.

³⁵ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 13, 1898, *Correspondence*, 836.

³⁶ Otis to Dewey, Nov. 7, 1898; AF 10; RG45; NAB.

³⁷ Otis to Dewey, Nov. 29, 1898, *ibid.*

³⁸ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 7, 1898, *Correspondence*, 833; Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 13, 1898, *idem*, 836.

³⁹ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 27, 1898, *ibid.*, 840.

⁴⁰ SECWAR to Otis, Nov. 30, 1898, *ibid.*, 841.

In a move that would greatly effect the composition and efficiency of the navy within the Philippines, Otis made arrangements for the transfer of the former Spanish gunboats *Paragua*, *Samar*, *Albay*, *Calamianes*, *Mindoro*, *Mariveles*, *Pampanga*, *Panay*, *Manileno*, *Urdaneta*, *Gardoqui*, and *Basco* in the southern Philippines to Manila.⁴¹ These would add to the navy's arsenal of former Spanish gunboats such as the *Callao* and *Manila* that the navy was operating, and the *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, and *Don Juan de Austria* which were being repaired in Hong Kong. While the navy (Dewey) was not initially pleased to be assuming the burden of the gunboats, it is noted that those most familiar with the Philippines and the usefulness of gunboat, saw its need. In a note, Sir Andrew Clarke, former British Governor of the Straits Settlements (Malacca, Singapore, and Penang), wrote that, while seeing that the United States was sending more troops, he wished that they were sending more gunboats, as "they will be found more useful in every way".⁴²

On December 4, 1898, McKinley finally acknowledges his intent to retain the Philippines.⁴³ So, on December 8, 1898, Otis informed the Secretary of War of the necessity to occupy the ports of Iloilo and Cebu as soon as possible, and then the ports of Aparri, Vigan, Dagupan, and Zamboanga (seven points if included with Manila).⁴⁴ On December 10, 1898, the Paris Peace Treaty was signed between the United States and Spain, and for the sum of 20 million dollars, the Philippines were ceded to America. But, on December 14, 1898, as Otis received a petition for protection from the bankers and merchants at Iloilo, the Secretary of War and the President were out of town and instructed Otis to wait for a reply upon their return.⁴⁵ On December 21, 1898, McKinley instructed Otis to send troops to preserve peace and protect life and property, but most importantly not to start a conflict with the insurgents. That same day the Spanish vacated Iloilo, and the insurgents occupied the town. The 21st also marked the day that McKinley gave his famous "Benevolent Assimilation" speech which included the statement:

⁴¹ Otis to Dewey, Dec. 10, 1898; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴² Andrew Clarke to Mr. Forbes, Dec. 20, 1898, *ibid.*

⁴³ McKinley to Otis, Dec. 4, 1898, *Correspondence*, 850.

⁴⁴ Otis to SECWAR, Dec. 8, 1898, *ibid.*, 851-852.

⁴⁵ Otis to AGWAR, Dec. 14, 1898, *ibid.*, 853; AGWAR to Otis, Dec. 18, 1898, *idem*, 856.

All ports and places in the Philippine Islands in the actual possession of the land and naval forces of the United States will be opened to the commerce of all friendly nations. All goods and wares, not prohibited for military reasons by due announcement of the military authority, will be admitted . . . the mission of the United States is one of benevolent assimilation.⁴⁶

By the end of December, an advisor to the president, Professor Dean C. Worcester, of the University of Michigan, suggested that the War Department occupy all strategic points in the island before the insurgents did.⁴⁷ With due restraint, Otis responded that he was well aware of the strategic points in the islands, but that all had been turned over by the Spanish to the insurgents, except Zamboanga, when the Spanish had secretly withdrawn their forces. The strategic points could have been taken earlier, but not now.⁴⁸ The Secretary of War responded that it was not expected that the occupation be prosecuted too rapidly, but proceed with prudence, avoiding conflict if possible, and only resort to force as the last extremity, “Be kind and tactful, taking time if necessary to accomplish results desired by peaceful means”.⁴⁹

In McKinley’s “Benevolent Assimilation” speech, he claimed that “the destruction of the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Manila by the United States naval squadron commanded by Rear-Admiral Dewey, followed by the reduction of the city and the surrender of the Spanish forces, practically affected the conquest of the Philippine Islands”. In a chilling tell, Dewey asserted otherwise, “in return for . . . the islands, [Spain] was paid the sum of twenty million . . . [the United States] scarcely comprehended that a rebellion was included with the purchase. We were far from being in possession of the property which we had bought.”⁵⁰ The Philippine Insurrection was only a matter of time.

⁴⁶ POTUS to SECWAR, Dec. 21, 1898, *ibid.*, 858-859; AGWAR to Otis, Dec. 21, 1898, *idem*.

⁴⁷ SECWAR to Otis, Dec. 29, 1898, *ibid.*, 863.

⁴⁸ Otis to SECWAR, Dec. 30, 1898, *ibid.*, 864.

⁴⁹ SECWAR to Otis, Dec. 30, 1898, *ibid.*, 864.

⁵⁰ Dewey, 246.

II. THE COMMENCEMENT OF HOSTILITIES AND CONVENTIONAL WARFARE

Though there has been no declaration of war, though there has been no avowal of hostile intent, with two such armies confronting each other with such diverse intents and resolves, it will take but a spark to ignite the magazine which is to explode. (Senator Robert Bacon)

On the night of February 4, 1899, as a small patrol of three Filipino soldiers approached the American line surrounding the city of Manila, the order of “halt” was issued by a small patrol of Nebraska Volunteers. Failing to heed the order, the Filipinos continued on, and a young-American private, William Grayson, opened fire. The Philippine Insurrection had started.

The composition of American forces in and around Manila were prepared for the initial turn of events with the onset of hostilities. The land forces were assigned to Military Governor of the Philippines, Department of the Pacific, Major General Elwell S. Otis, and consisted of roughly 20,000 troops of the Eighth Army Corps. The vast majority of these troops were drawn from state militias and known as U.S. Volunteers; the rest being U.S. Army Regulars. Of his total troop strength, only 11,000 were front-line troops arranged into two separate divisions (see Figure1). The 1st Division, commanded by Brigadier General Thomas N. Anderson, held the southern American line south from the Pasig River to Manila Bay. The 2nd Division, commanded by Brigadier General Arthur MacArthur, was holding the northern line from the Pasig River northward along the outskirts of Manila to Manila Bay. Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes was the Provost Marshall of Manila and was charged with the City of Manila proper.⁵¹

⁵¹ Linn, 42-44.

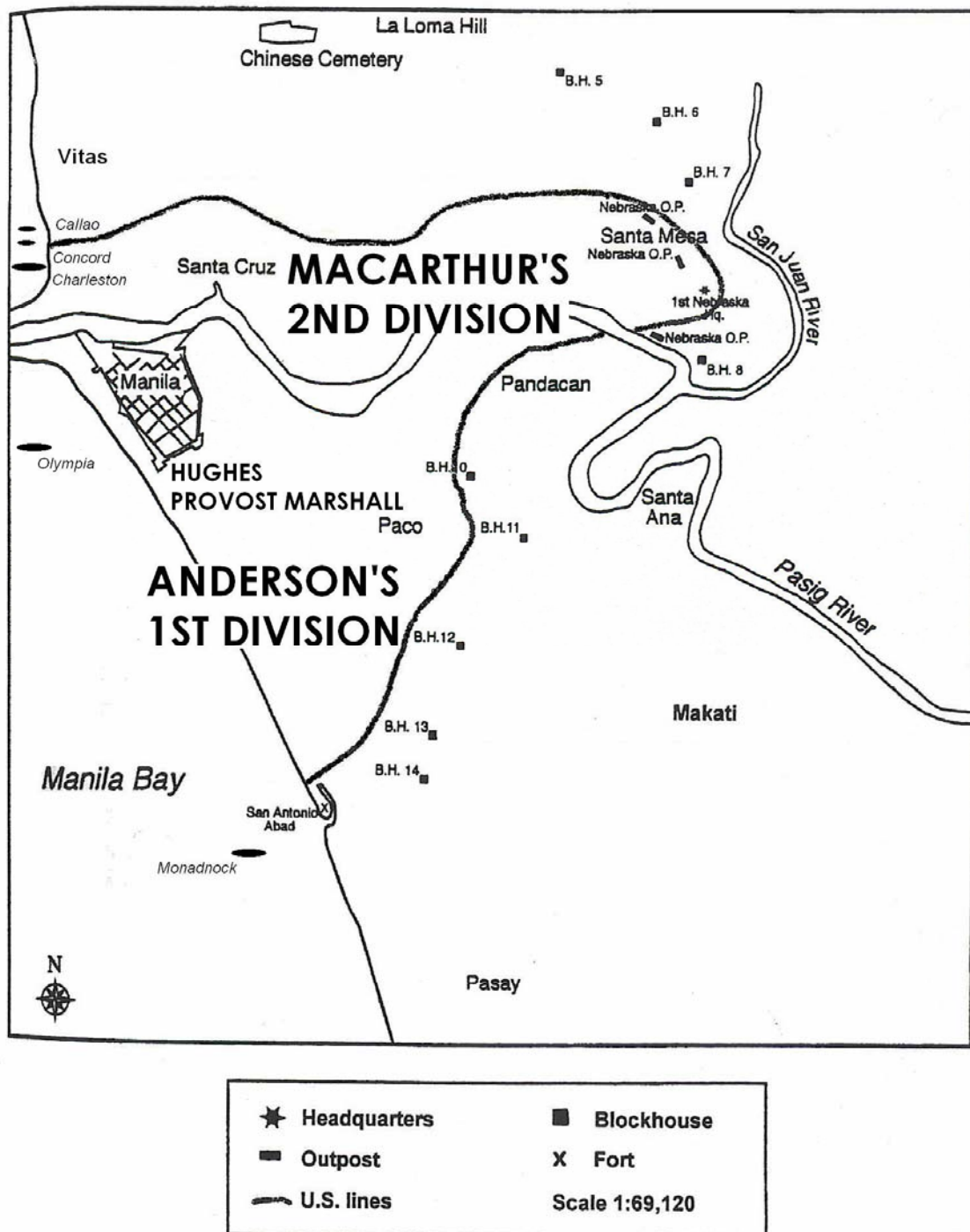


Figure 1. Manila (From: Linn, *The Philippine War*, 43)

The U.S. naval forces on Asiatic Station were commanded by Rear Admiral George S. Dewey aboard the flagship *Olympia*. The squadron had grown since the Battle of Manila Bay the preceding year, but it still remained relatively small. Assigned an enormous area of responsibility, Dewey stationed only one vessel outside of the Philippine Islands, the gunboat *Monocacy*, at Shanghai, China. All other vessels of the Asiatic Station were assigned duties in the Philippine Islands. At the onset of hostilities, these ships included the cruisers *Olympia*, *Boston*, and *Charleston*, the monitors *Monadnock* and *Monterey*, and the gunboats *Callao*, *Concord*, *Manila*, and *Petrel*.⁵² The naval force by early February was arranged with the *Charleston*, *Callao*, and *Concord* anchored off Vitas protecting the Army's northern flank. The *Monadnock* was anchored off of Fort San Antonio de Abad on the Army's southern flank. The flagship *Olympia* took position off Manila proper in the middle, and the *Boston* and *Petrel* were anchored off the port of Iloilo on the Island of Panay.⁵³

The Filipino Army of Liberation held a loose line around Manila and the American positions. Commanded by President and General Emilio Aguinaldo, the insurgents mustered over 20,000 troops on their line.⁵⁴ Using fortified fieldworks, emplaced artillery, strong points, and a number of captured Spanish blockhouses, the Army of Liberation held a semi-circle from Boca de Vita in the north to Fort San Antonio de Abad in the south, presenting a formidable obstacle to American forces. A brief note must be made to Emilio Aguinaldo as to his importance in the Philippine Insurrection. Aguinaldo had been a key figure in the Katipunan Revolution against the Spanish that started in 1896. Exiled to Hong Kong by the Spanish, Aguinaldo was brought back to Manila by the United States to assist in coordinating Filipino efforts during the Spanish-American War, and assumed command of the Filipino Army. As hopes of independence for the Philippines diminished with the Treaty of Paris, Aguinaldo led the resistance to American occupation, and on January 1, 1899, he was elected President of the Philippine

⁵² John C. Watson, Commander-in-Chief Naval Forces on Asiatic Station (CINC Asiatic), to John D. Long, Secretary of the Navy (SECNAV), Aug. 17, 1899; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

⁵³ George Dewey, CINC Asiatic, to SECNAV, Feb. 19, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁵⁴ Elwell Otis, Military Governor, to Adjutant General of the War Department (AGWAR), Feb. 7, 1899, *Correspondence*, 896.

Republic. Emilio Aguinaldo was twenty-nine years old when hostilities broke out; he embodied the hopes and aspirations of a nation that had endured 300 years of Spanish occupation, and he led the fight to prevent any further occupation.

The initial strategy, after the Spanish-American War and the decision to annex the Philippines was made, was for the United States to take control of all the strategic points in the Philippine Islands. But after Spanish troops withdrew prematurely, in late December 1899, prior to American occupation, these points all fell into the hands of Filipino forces. Manila was the only exception. Otis desired to occupy the cities of Iloilo, Panay; Cebu, Cebu; Zamboanga, Mindanao; and Jolo in the Sulu Archipelago as soon as possible (see Figure2), but the main threat to American interests lay on the island of Luzon. Desiring to also occupy the strategic points of Dagupan, Aparri, and Legaspi on Luzon, and to secure Manila, Otis first had to contend with the main Filipino force surrounding Manila.

The strategy of the navy, as stated by Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, was to “cooperate with the Army and to maintain a blockade of such extent as has been determined by the general policy of campaign laid down by the War Department”.⁵⁵ At the commencement of hostilities, Otis defined the navy’s role as stopping arms shipments to the insurgents from China and Japan and cooperating with the Army.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, American naval forces would suffer from a lack of manpower and vessels. Further adding to the difficulties of the blockade was an inconsistent policy by Otis and neglect of Dewey who tended to focus more on his social schedule more than anything.⁵⁷

The first year of hostilities was dominated by conventional warfare. Americans fought nine successful military campaigns against the Filipino Army of Liberation from February 4, 1899 to February 9, 1900. Of the named campaigns, only one, the Iloilo Campaign, occurred outside of the Island of Luzon. The greater emphasis on Luzon was

⁵⁵ United States Navy Department, *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Year 1899* (Washington: GPO, 1899), 3.

⁵⁶ Otis to Secretary of War (SECWAR), Dec. 30, 1898, *Correspondence*, 864; Otis to AGWAR, Feb. 20, 1899, *idem*, 908.

⁵⁷ Linn, 130.

because it held the three greatest objectives for the military: the Army of Liberation, Aguinaldo, and the renegade Philippine Republic government.



Figure 2. Philippines Islands (From: http://www.nationmaster.com/images/enc/P/Ph_general_map.png)

In Clausewitzian fashion, these three objectives embodied the “centers of gravity” that American forces sought to destroy or capture.

In each of the nine conventional military campaigns, except one (the Tarlac Campaign), naval vessels (both navy and army operated) played a crucial role. As attention was diverted or mandated to other parts of the archipelago during this time, the navy’s importance grew even more. And the blockade, as it became effectively employed, proved instrumental in its efforts in suppressing Filipino resistance. This chapter looks at the navy’s role during the first year of the Insurrection, in cooperating with the army’s campaigns, implementing a blockade, and acting in other operations throughout the archipelago. During this period many changes came about for the navy. The size of naval forces on the Asiatic Station grew exponentially, the station was reorganized and saw new leadership, and the navy was forced to rely on vessels that did not prescribe to its newly adopted Mahanian theory of concentration and mass of battleships. Instead, the navy had to rely on the lonely gunboat.

A. THE CAMPAIGNS

1. Manila (February 4, 1899 – March 17, 1899)

After the initial exchange of volleys on the night of February 4, 1899, rifle fire subsided within several hours. On the morning of February 5, 1899, the American assault, a preplanned reaction should hostilities begin, began under the withering fire of U.S. artillery and the guns of the U.S. naval ships *Callao*, *Charleston*, *Concord*, and *Monadnock*. With the softening up of the Filipino front lines and flanks by the navy, the army began its advance that would steadily push back the Army of Liberation around Manila for over a month during the Manila Campaign (see Figure3).⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Otis to AGWAR, Feb. 5, 1899, *Correspondence*, 894.

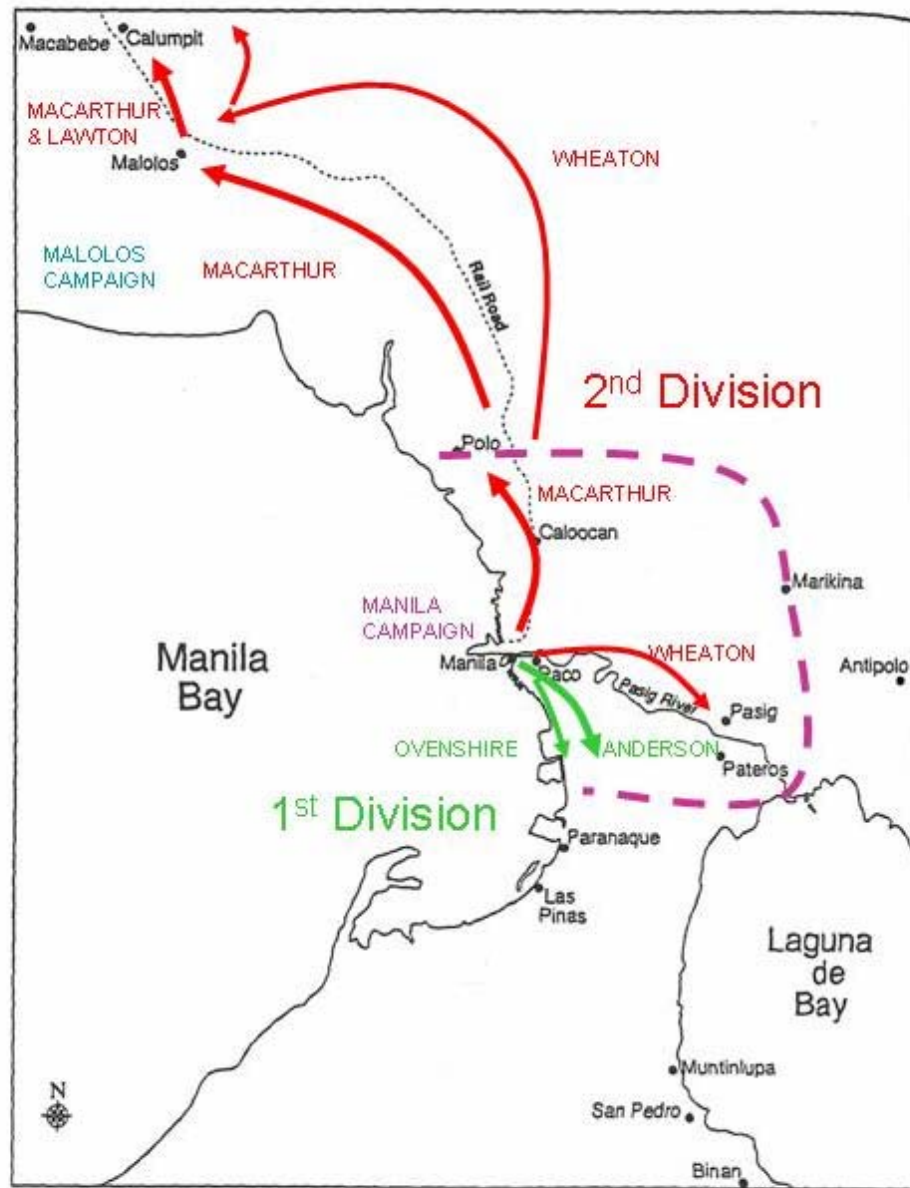


Figure 3. Manila Region (After: Linn, *The Philippine War*, 28)

McArthur's 2nd Division advanced along the San Juan River towards the high ground of Santa Mesa Ridge held by the insurgents on February 5, 1899. With the

Charleston and *Callao* shelling enemy positions along the north, the 2nd Division broke through the Army of Liberation's lines by nightfall and held the ridge. As the Filipinos were routed, they withdrew to the city of Caloocan. Caloocan was an important city due to its rail station and that it blocked the way to the insurgent capital at Malolos. After receiving troop reinforcements from the southern line and the *Monadnock* off Bitas River on February 9, 1899, General MacArthur launched his offensive against Caloocan on February 10, 1899. Receiving gunfire support from the vessels *Charleston* and *Monadnock*, the army was able to capture the city and the strategic Manila-Dagupan railroad terminus.⁵⁹ As the Filipino Army launched a counterattack on Caloocan the following day, the *Charleston* opened fire upon the insurgents and helped repel the attack.⁶⁰ After the fall of Caloocan, the *Monadnock* continued to render vital assistance to MacArthur's forces as they battled around Caloocan and Malabon. While providing gunfire support, the vessel was also ordered to interdict waterborne supplies being taken to the insurgent army at neighboring Polo. In one such raid on the night of February 23, 1899, the *Monadnock* captured thirty-five Filipinos and 15 small canoes and banca boats (an outrigger-equipped, manually constructed, canoe-shaped wooden boat commonly used in the Philippines).⁶¹

Along the 1st Division line to the south, Anderson's advance on February 5, 1899 proceeded successfully. The only exception was along the shore of Manila Bay. Brigadier General Ovenshire, pushing towards Pasay, met stiff resistance. Even with the assistance of the monitor *Monadnock*, laying off Fort San Antonio, enfilading Filipino trenches and causing the first Filipino retreat with its four 10-inch guns and two 4-inch guns the progress was slow. Finally, the cruiser *Charleston*, with its main battery of two 8-inch guns and six 6-inch guns, was transferred from the north to assist.⁶² The combined gunfire of both the *Monadnock* and *Charleston* at last allowed Ovenshire's troops to breakout and cleared the ground for their advance. By nightfall the Americans were in

⁵⁹ Linn, 57.

⁶⁰ *Charleston* to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 23, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁶¹ *Monadnock* to CINC Asiatic, Jun. 9, 1899; *ibid*.

⁶² Dewey to SECNAV, Feb. 19, 1899; *ibid*.

control of the town of Pasay.⁶³ On February 11, 1899, an advance Army reconnoitering party pushed south of Pasay and met a large insurgent force at Parañaque. Outnumbered and overwhelmed, the small gunboat *Barcelo* was sent to assist the army in their retreat. The *Barcelo*'s efforts drove the insurgents back and enabled the army to safely withdraw.⁶⁴

In the east, Brigadier General Loyd Wheaton, of the 2nd Division, pushed along the Pasig River against insurgents under General Pio del Pilar. To assist Wheaton's attack, Otis requested that the newly arrived cruiser, *Buffalo*, create a diversion by firing on insurgent positions near Parañaque while Anderson made a feint near Pasay. With direct assistance of the army's gunboat, *Laguna de Bay*, flanking and firing on insurgent positions along the Pasig River, Wheaton's forces captured the town of Pasig on February 9, 1899.⁶⁵ Ten days later on February 19, 1899, insurgents launched a counter attack on the town of Pasig, but aided by the *Laguna de Bay* and her Gatling guns, the attack was repulsed.⁶⁶ To the west, on the Cavite peninsula, 1,500 U.S. Army troops were stationed to protect the Cavite Naval Station. Together with naval forces from Cavite, the Americans battled the insurgents. As the insurgents repeatedly attempted to entrench themselves, shelling by the gunboat *Manila*, kept them at bay.⁶⁷

After the preliminary onslaught, the army had advanced its line to Caloocan in the north to Pasay in the south. With the advance in the south extending farther than expected after the initial thrust, Otis came to the conclusion that his front lines were overextended. On February 18, 1899 he reported that he could not extend his lines any further⁶⁸. Realizing the importance of pushing north towards the insurgent capital at Malolos, Otis decided to shift more troops to the north, so a general withdrawal was conducted along

⁶³ *Monadnock* to CINC Asiatic, Jun. 9, 1899; *ibid.*

⁶⁴ Dewey to SECNAV, Feb. 19, 1899; *ibid.*

⁶⁵ Otis to Dewey, Mar. 12, 1899; *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Linn, 55-56.

⁶⁷ Dewey to SECNAV, Feb. 19, 1899; *ibid.*

⁶⁸ Otis to AGWAR, Feb. 18, 1899, *Correspondence*, 906.

the southern from line.⁶⁹ By February 28, 1899, Americans held a line from the city of Polo in the north, east to Marikina, southeast to Pasig, and south to Pasay.⁷⁰

Within the city of Manila itself, insurgents attempted a mass uprising on February 23, 1899. The provost-guard, under Hughes, easily put down the uprising which had long been anticipated. As the provost-guard began mop-up operations of clearing the last remaining insurgents in Manila, the gunboat *Callao* assisted using its 6-pdr., 3-pdr., two 1-pdrs., and Colt automatic to fire on the last insurgent positions in northern Manila along the Pasig River.⁷¹

In the last effort of the Manila Campaign and prior to the launch of the next campaign against the insurgent capital of Malolos, Otis decided to launch an expedition up the Pasig River to the lake Laguna de Bay. The objective was to split the Filipino Army in two and quiet the harassment by insurgents on the eastern and southern fronts. Wheaton, commanding a flying column, set out on March 12, 1899 with the army gunboats *Laguna de Bay*, *Oesta*, and *Napidan*.⁷² With the assistance of the gunboat *Laguna de Bay*, firing its cannon and Gatling guns into the enemy flanks at Guadalupe Church, American forces advanced along the Pasig river, taking Pasig, Pateros, and Taguig.⁷³ Advancing beyond their artillery, American forces relied on the *Laguna de Bay* and its batteries to drive off the insurgents. By March 17, 1899, Americans held a line from Manila across to the Laguna de Bay, and the Manila Campaign came to a close.⁷⁴

2. Iloilo (February 8 – 12, 1899)

The city of Iloilo on the Island of Panay was the second largest port within the Philippine Archipelago (see Figure4). On December 27, 1898, an expedition to Iloilo departed Manila consisting of a battalion under command of Brigadier General Marcus P. Miller embarked on the transports *Newport*, *Arizona*, and *Pennsylvania* and escorted by

⁶⁹ Linn, 55-56.

⁷⁰ Otis to Dewey, Feb. 28, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁷¹ Linn, 60.

⁷² Karl Irving Faust, *Campaigning in the Philippines* (New York: Arno Press & the New York Times, 1970), 202, 255-257.

⁷³ Linn, 93-94.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 93-94.

the cruiser *Baltimore*. The purpose of the campaign was to take Iloilo (strategic point) without provoking the natives. This was necessitated in mid-December by the notification by the Spanish garrison commander at Iloilo, General Diego de Los Rios, that he would be withdrawing due to increased insurgent hostilities, and a plea from the towns merchants for American occupation. Unfortunately, Spanish troops departed Iloilo on December 24, 1898; the same day permission was received from Washington to occupy the city.⁷⁵

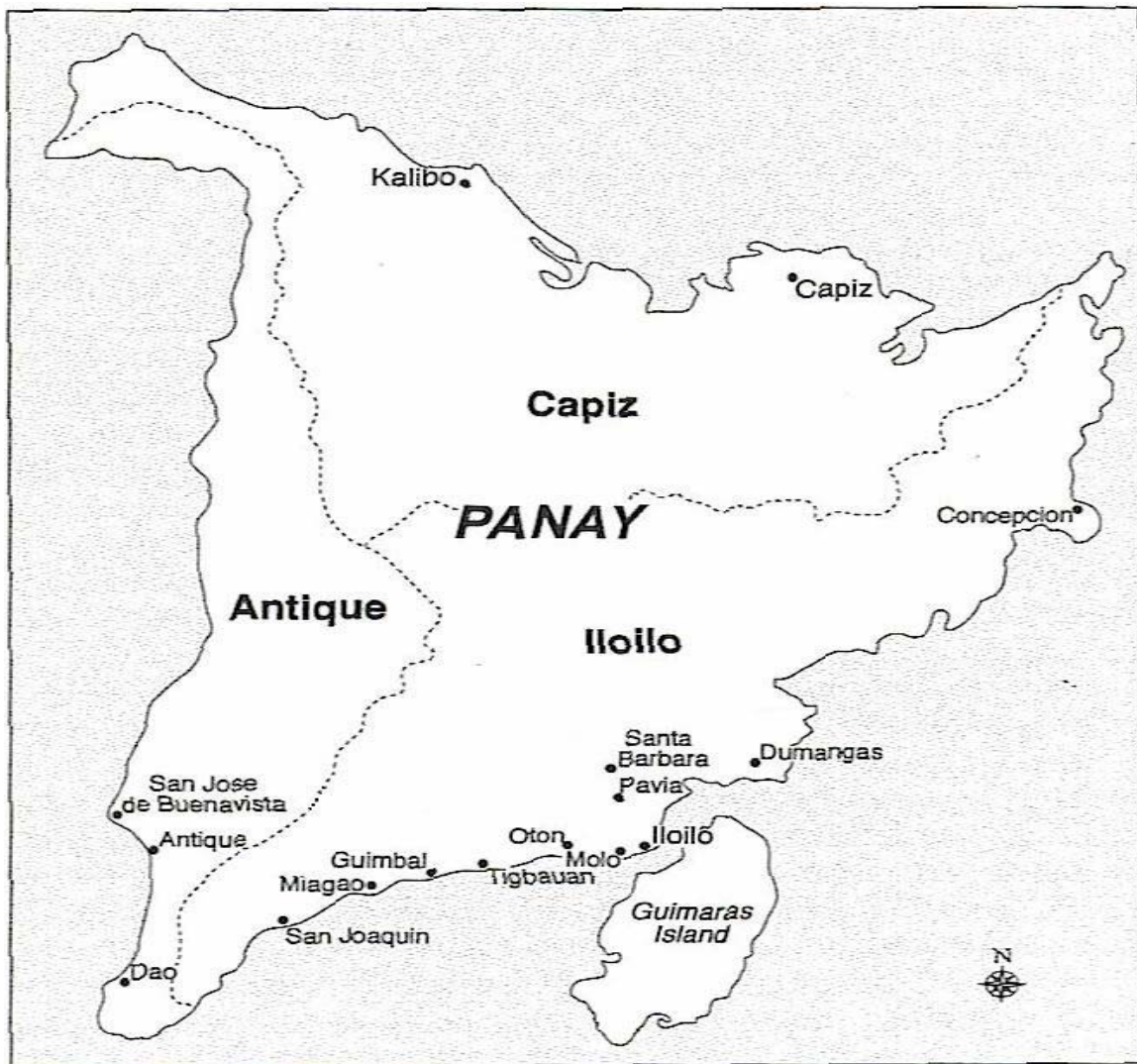


Figure 4. Island of Panay (From: Linn, *The Philippine War*, 242)

⁷⁵ Albert P. Niblack, "The Taking of Iloilo", *Proceedings*, XXV (Sept 1899): 596-597.

When Miller reached Iloilo, it was in insurgent hands. Since hostilities had not broken out, President William McKinley instructed that it was of the utmost importance that a conflict not be started by the United States.⁷⁶ It was the War Department's fear that if Miller took the city by force it would ignite a war throughout the islands. McKinley wrote to Otis stating that he was "most desirous that conflict be avoided".⁷⁷ During January, Miller held talks with the city's leaders and insurgents to allow for a peaceful occupation, but nothing was reached. After the outbreak of hostilities in Manila, Otis made the decision to capture Iloilo as conditions and business interests demanded it.⁷⁸ On February 7, 1899, Secretary of War Russel A. Alger informed Otis and Dewey that the President would leave the occupation of Iloilo up to their judgment as conflict had already begun.⁷⁹ This message was transmitted to Miller along with the news that hostilities has broken out and ordered him to occupy Iloilo upon the arrival of reinforcements and with the full cooperation of the navy under Captain Frank F. Wilde commanding the cruiser *Boston*, which had relieved the *Baltimore*, and had been joined by the gunboat *Petrel*.

General Miller's expedition of 2,500 troops, which had been kept aboard transport ships off Iloilo for over a month, prepared to land the following day as he issued an ultimatum on February 10, 1899. In his demands, General Miller demanded that there be no defensive works erected by the Filipinos. So, on the morning of February 11, 1899, upon witnessing insurgents fortifying their trenches, the *Petrel* fired two warning shots in an attempt to discourage the insurgents. The insurgents in response filled the trenches with troops and began firing on the *Petrel*. The *Petrel* and *Boston* subsequently began shelling the earthworks and drove out the insurgents. Fearing for the safety of the town and that the insurgents may set it afire (which they did), a landing party of some fifty blue jackets was assembled from both ships and sent ashore, led by Lieutenant Albert P.

⁷⁶ Otis to AGWAR, Jan. 1, 1899, *Correspondence*, 865; AGWAR to Otis, Jan. 1, 1899, *idem*, 865-866.

⁷⁷ McKinley to Otis, Jan. 8, 1899, *ibid.*, 872.

⁷⁸ Otis to AGWAR, Feb. 7, 1899, *ibid.*, 896; Russel A. Alger, SECWAR to Otis, Feb. 7, 1899, *idem*, 896.

⁷⁹ AGWAR to Otis, Feb. 7, 1899, *ibid.*, 896.

Niblack⁸⁰. The city was thus occupied at 1150 and turned over to Miller upon his arrival an hour later.⁸¹ Captain Wilde of the *Boston* commended Lieutenant Commander Charles C. Cornwell of the *Petrel* for taking a necessary and dangerous position close to shore which enabled the gunboat to direct fire upon the inner slope of the landing beach and fire up many streets within Iloilo.⁸²

After the fall of Iloilo to American forces, the island would become the district headquarters for the Visayan Military District on March 1, 1899. The Visayan Military District was established comprising the islands of Panay, Negros, Cebu, and other islands as might be designated later. Miller was initially assigned this post and established his headquarters at Iloilo, but was relieved by Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes on May 25, 1899.⁸³

3. Malolos (March 25 – August 16, 1899)

After the fall of Caloocan, the army spent almost a month on preparations (hardening lines, establishing roads, and improving the railway) before it was ready to move against the city of Malolos. Malolos was the insurgent capital where the Filipino Government and Aguinaldo were, and it was defended by the bulk of the Army of Liberation. On March 25, 1899, the Malolos campaign began. Four Army brigades launched a pincer movement to envelop the insurgent army, but terrain conditions and well fortified enemy positions made the advance slow. General MacArthur proceeded up the rail line towards Malolos and was aided by the army's gunboats operating on the Bulacan River and relieving pressure on his front.⁸⁴ But, by the time Wheaton's brigade circled around from the east and met up with MacArthur's advance guard, the Army of Liberation was already in full retreat, and any hopes of entrapping it, Aguinaldo, or the insurgent government had evaporated. On March 31, 1899, American forces entered a burning Malolos, ignited by insurgents. The United States captured an empty capital.

⁸⁰ Niblack, 600-601.

⁸¹ Dewey to SECNAV, Feb. 19, 1899; AF 10; RG 45, NAB.

⁸² George Wilde, commanding officer *Boston*, to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 14, 1899; *ibid*.

⁸³ United States War Department, *Five Years of the War Department Following the War with Spain, 1899-1903* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1904), Available [Online] http://unx1.shsu.edu/~his_nep/Phil.html [Sep. 12, 2004].

⁸⁴ Otis to AGWAR, Mar. 28, 1899, *Correspondence*, 948-949,

After taking Malolos, the northern push (Malolos Campaign) by American forces stopped momentarily while attention was diverted south to the Laguna de Bay Campaign, described in the next sub-section. This allowed the northern offensive forces to recuperate and collect themselves for the march on the next major city on the rail-line, Calumpit. In an attempt to gain ground before the U.S. Volunteer forces departed, their enlistments having expired upon the conclusion of the Spanish-American War, Otis moved Brigadier General Henry W. Lawton to command a brigade under MacArthur and take the insurgent stronghold at Calumpit. Wheaton would again move in the east into a blocking position to prevent the Army of Liberation's escape. On April 23, 1899, the northern offensive began. Insurgent forces under General Antonio Luna presented formidable defenses around Calumpit, and again in conjunction with the terrain and weather, took a toll on the American Army. By April 27, 1899, American forces had defeated the fortifications at Calumpit and captured the city, but once again the Army of Liberation escaped.

MacArthur's next objective was San Fernando, ten miles up the railroad, and as the Filipino line gave way on May 5, 1899, San Fernando was taken. After extending the American lines forty miles to the north in eighteen major engagements, MacArthur's 2nd Division stalled.⁸⁵ MacArthur and his Division would remain at San Fernando for three months as focus shifted to Lawton's first expedition in the San Isidro Campaign, described later. On August 8, 1899, a rested and reinforced 2nd Division set out towards the insurgent stronghold at Angeles. Four thousand troops under General MacArthur fought against an insurgent army of six thousand, and routed an estimated 2,500 Filipino troops entrenched around the outskirts of Angeles on August 16, 1899. With the capture of Angeles, also came the conclusion of the Malolos Campaign.⁸⁶

4. Laguna de Bay (April 8 – 17, 1899)

The Army had been operating on Laguna de Bay since mid-March when Wheaton's column had opened the Pasig River all the way from Manila Bay to Laguna de Bay. Employing the two improvised gunboats, the *Oesta* and *Napidan*, the Army

⁸⁵ Linn, 109-111.

⁸⁶ Otis to AGWAR, Aug. 9, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1049; Otis to AGWAR, Aug. 16, 1899, *idem*, 1053-1054.

sought to capture insurgent property and harass insurgent troops.⁸⁷ With the 2nd Division resting at Malolos and conditions deteriorating in the south, Otis' attention turned towards Laguna de Bay and destroying insurgent supply centers and communications located on the lake. Fifteen hundred troops were assembled under Brigadier General Charles King and commanded by Lawton.⁸⁸

On April 8, 1899, the force set out under the escort of the gunboats *Oesta* and *Napindan* to capture the insurgent supply depot of Santa Cruz (see Figure 5). On the following day, the force landed under the covering fire of the gunboats south of the city, and advancing on the city as the gunboats' batteries pushed the insurgents back. Santa Cruz was captured on April 10, 1899. While occupying the town Lawton continued to pursue the retreating insurgents along the bay as well as capture all the larger trading vessels on the lake, destroying smaller vessels, and capturing a Spanish gunboat on April 12, 1899.⁸⁹ Running low on rations, Lawton requested permission to capture other towns along the bay, but on April 16th General Otis ordered the expedition to return.⁹⁰ Lawton returned from Lake country on April 17, 1899 bringing with him an assortment of captured vessels.⁹¹

In addition to the Laguna de Bay Campaign, the Army launched another expedition to the lake in late July 1899. In a similar raiding style, 1,000 troops, accompanied by the Army's gunboats, defeated 300 entrenched insurgents and captured the strategic town of Calamba and Los Baños. Lawton's Laguna de Bay Campaign originally had Calamba as an objective, but the low level of the lake during dry season created shoal water that prevented any amphibious operations in that locality.⁹² The monsoon season, which enabled operations on the lake with higher water levels, would not be as welcomed elsewhere.

⁸⁷ Otis to AGWAR, Mar. 14, 1899, *ibid.*, 931; Otis to AGWAR, Mar. 19, 1899, *idem*, 938.

⁸⁸ Otis to AGWAR, Apr. 7, 1899, *ibid.*, 959; Otis to AGWAR, Apr. 9, 1899, *idem*, 960.

⁸⁹ Otis to AGWAR, Apr. 12, 1899, *ibid.*, 963.

⁹⁰ Linn, 101-103.

⁹¹ Otis to AGWAR, Apr. 19, 1899, *Correspondence*, 968.

⁹² Otis to AGWAR, Jul. 28, 1899, *ibid.*, 1042.

5. San Isidro (April 21 – May 30, 1899, and October 15 – November 19, 1899)

The San Isidro Campaign involved two expeditions. The first was to capture the town when it became the insurgent capital after Malolos fell. The second expedition was to recapture the town and use it as a staging point for Lawton's push northward in conjunction with the San Fabian and Tarlac Campaigns that will be discussed later.

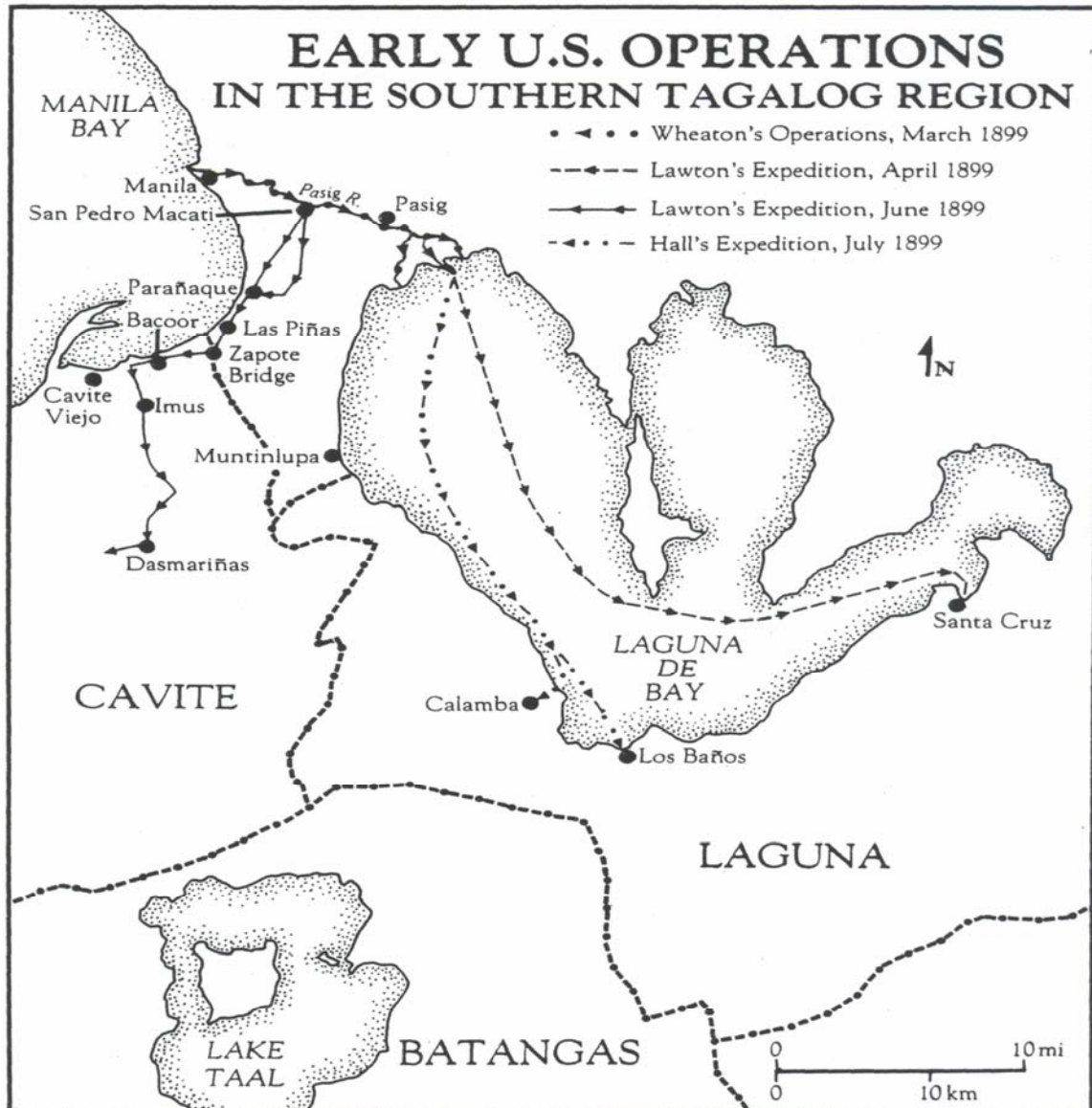


Figure 5. Lake Laguna de Bay (From: May, *Battle of Batangas*, 81)

On April 22, 1899, Lawton led a provisional division from Manila into Central Luzon and the Bulacan Province. Facing logistical problems, bad weather, and indecision by Otis, Lawton was given little direction and was ordered to stop.⁹³ On May 11, 1899, Lawton was finally allowed to proceed. His new plan was to march on San Isidro, the new capital of the insurgent government, and then down the Rio Grande River to flank Luna's forces that opposed MacArthur (see Figure6).

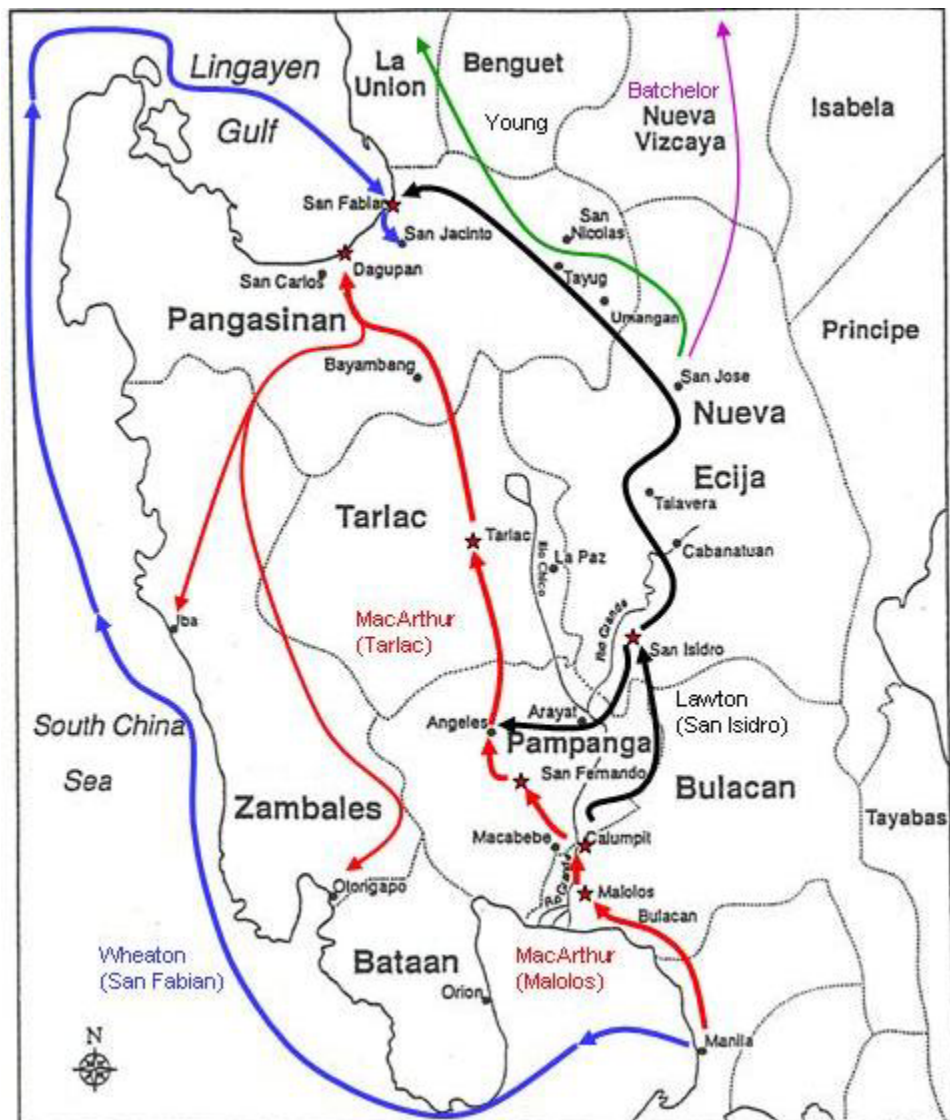


Figure 6. Central Luzon Campaigns (After: Linn, *The Philippine War*, 141)

⁹³ Linn, 113-114.

To aid in the campaign, the army's gunboats were passed up to Calumpit for use on the Rio Grande River. Starting on May 16, 1899, the gunboats began to ferry a force, under Brigadier General William A. Kobbé Jr., up the Rio Grande from Calumpit towards San Isidro to assist Lawton.⁹⁴

On May 16, 1899, Lawton's forces took San Isidro, but Aguinaldo and 13 American prisoners had escaped. As Kobbé and his gunboats fought their way up the Rio Grande, Lawton abandoned San Isidro and moved down the Rio Grande. Instead of trapping the insurgent army between Lawton and MacArthur as planned, the insurgents once again escaped, this time to the new insurgent capital at Tarlac.⁹⁵ When MacArthur and Lawton linked up, Lawton returned to Manila while MacArthur remained commanding the northern forces. With the conclusion of the first expedition of the San Isidro Campaign, the Spring Offensive period came to a close. Weather and force realignment would necessitate a lull in the fighting until the Fall Offensive could be started. During the summer of 1899, American forces sat in their trenches and traded sniping with insurgent forces while awaiting reinforcements and better weather.

With the launch of the fall campaign season, Otis intended to capture Aguinaldo and destroy the Army of Liberation. The plan was to stagger the launch of a three prong offensive consisting of three different campaigns. Lawton's 1st Division would be spearheaded by Brigadier General Samuel Young and take San Isidro. A logistics base would be established at San Isidro, and then forces would push on towards the Gulf of Lingayen; Lawton's forces would cut off the insurgents escape route to the east. Meanwhile, MacArthur's 2nd Division would thrust up the railroad to the new insurgent capital at Tarlac, pushing the insurgent army northward. Wheaton would then land by sea at San Fabian on the Gulf of Lingayen and trap the Army of Liberation⁹⁶ Unfortunately, attacks along the southern front of Manila would again require a short delay. Lawton briefly joined American forces to the south under Brigadier General Theodore Schwan for a punitive expedition that resulted in the Zapote River Campaign that will be

⁹⁴ Otis to AGWAR, May 14, 1899, *ibid.*, 988.

⁹⁵ Otis to AGWAR, May 17, 1899, *ibid.*, 990.

⁹⁶ Linn, 139.

discussed next. After this short diversion and with all quiet along the southern front, Otis returned his focus and Lawton to the north.

The first phase of the three-prong offensive and the second expedition of the San Isidro Campaign was launched on October 15, 1899. Lawton was preceded by Young, who had set out on October 9, 1899, up the Rio Grande River towards San Isidro. After much difficulty, Young recaptured San Isidro on October 20, 1899.⁹⁷ After establishing a permanent station and receiving supplies via the San Juan River, Lawton and Young continued their advance. With Young acting as an advance party, Lawton was supposed to move quickly with the main force, but logistics and weather hindered Lawton's advance. To remedy the problem, Young advocated that his detachment advance without a logistical train and press north to the Gulf of Lingayan and meet up with Wheaton's forces.⁹⁸

With intelligence indicating that Aguinaldo was seeking to escape through to northeastern Luzon, between Lawton's and Wheaton's forces, Young was given permission to proceed. In truly heroic fashion, Young led a 1,100 man column, marching fast and living off the land, in pursuit of Aguinaldo. One by one Young closed the mountain passes of escape. On November 13, 1899, an advance guard captured Aguinaldo's mother and son. For days Young ran a continuing battle with Aguinaldo's rear guard, all but destroying it. On November 17, 1899, realizing that Otis' plan had failed, Aguinaldo had escaped, Young decided to continue his chase.⁹⁹ Young raced to the coastal town of San Fernando on the Gulf of Lingayan where he received vital supplies from the gunboat *Samar*. After Wheaton, who had recently landed at San Fabian, refused Young's request that he take the town of Vigan to slow Aguinaldo's escape, Young turned to the navy to assist. On November 24, 1899, after a short bombardment, the battleship *Oregon* took the town of Vigan. That very same day Young departed San Fernando and began marching up the Ilocos coast. With barely 250 men, Young reached

⁹⁷ Otis to AGWAR, Oct. 20, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1087.

⁹⁸ Linn, 143-147; Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 11, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1098.

⁹⁹ Linn, 147-152.

Vigan on December 5, 1899.¹⁰⁰ On December 10, 1899, the navy landed a combined force of army soldiers and navy bluejackets and took the city of Laoag on the northwestern coast of Luzon. Young arrived the next day as his forces pursued the insurgent General Tinio who was reported in possession of American prisoners. By this time Aguinaldo had abandoned his troops and was hiding in the province of Benguet in central Northern Luzon.¹⁰¹ Exhausted and unable to continue the pursuit, Young assigned Colonels Hare and Howze to pursue the retreating enemy forces and rescue the American prisoners. The heroic tale of the march of Hare and Howze will be recanted later in a discussion on navy lieutenant James Gilmore and the failed Baler Expedition.¹⁰²

General Lawton during this time had left San Rafael and continued his march towards the Gulf of Lingayan as originally planned. With a supply line that stretched some 70 miles, the majority of Lawton's men had been left behind to protect his lines of communication and operations. On November 18, 1899, Lawton and a collection of companies and battalions entered San Fabian on the Gulf of Lingayan. The San Isidro Campaign officially came to a close.

6. Zapote River, June 13, 1899

On June 9, 1899, preparations began for the army's advance into southern Luzon against 6,000 revolutionary troops under Lieutenant General Mariano Trias. Lawton, returning from the north, was put in charge of two brigades, one under General Wheaton and one under General Ovenshire. The plan was for the Army to strike south through the isthmus between Manila Bay and Laguna de Bay into the southern provinces and end the harassment that insurgent forces had been initiating (see Figure7). Army and navy gunboats would patrol the army's lines along the two bays and shell enemy fortifications that appeared and protect the army's flanks. On June 10, 1899, Lawton's forces launched their attack¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 29, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1111; John C. Watson, CINC Asiatic, to John, D. Long, SECNAV, Nov. 30, 1899; AF 10, RG 45; NAB.

¹⁰¹ Otis to AGWAR, Dec. 13, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1121.

¹⁰² Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 29, 1899, *ibid.*, 1111

¹⁰³ Linn, 119-120.

The army in company with the navy off shore, advanced toward the south. Insurgent resistance was light, and the army captured the towns of Paranaque and Las Pinas on the shores of Manila Bay. Halting at Paranaque, Lawton boarded the *Helena* for a reconnaissance of enemy positions along the bay to Cavite. Lawton asked the navy to harass the insurgents in the following days until another general advance could be launched and to deny the enemy sleep. But prior to the army launching another advance, heavy firing broke out on the morning of June 13, 1899, around the Cavite Arsenal and around Bacoar. Quickly the navy took up positions to assist. Insurgents attacking Cavite were met by the monitor *Monterey*, and gunboats *Callao*, *Princeton* and *Helena*.

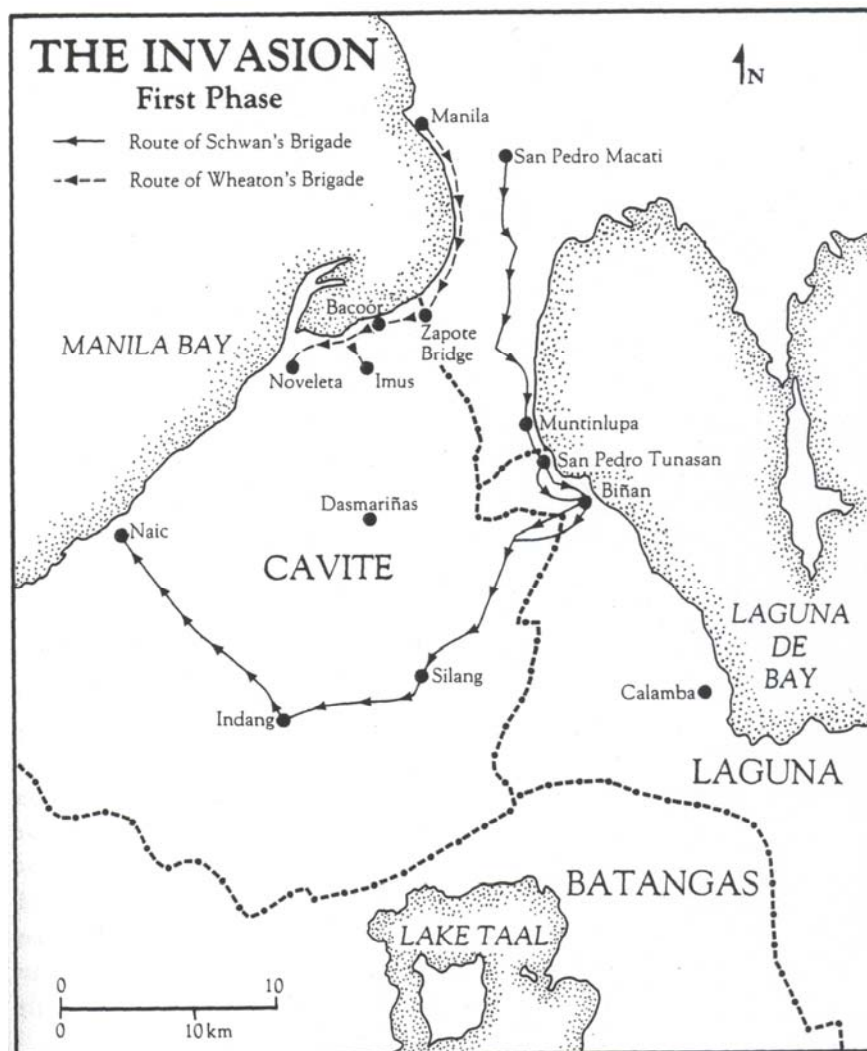


Figure 7. Cavite Province(From: May, *Battle for Batangas*, 97)

While the battle along the Cavite peninsular raged, the army's advance guard along the beach requested support. The gunboats *Manila* and *Undaneta* closed to shore and landed ninety men from the *Helena* and *Monadnock* to reinforce the Army and also provided crucial gunfire support. With reinforcements, supplies, and the ships shelling insurgents, the Army's advance position was held under very heavy fire from insurgents until a general advance of the main army was ordered in what would be called the Zapote River Campaign.

Just prior to darkness, Lawton signaled "Carried the bridge, crossed the river, enemy completely routed, I appreciate assistance of the navy". In all, the vessels *Helena*, *Monterey*, *Princeton*, *Manila*, *Monadnock*, *Callao*, *Basco*, and *Urdaneta* had participated in the Zapote River Campaign. The Asiatic Flagship, *Baltimore*, anchored within Manila Bay a few miles away, proved of no service because of her deep draft and the proximity of shoal water. Rear Admiral Watson was forced to take a steam launch to the vicinity of the action and boarded a number of the participating vessels to ascertain the status of the battle.

It was later learned that the Army's advance guard ran into an unexpected large insurgent force, and with little food, water, and ammunition, it was the navy's quick response that supported and reinforced the army. The navy's actions enabled the army's advance force to repel the large insurgent force and in doing so tie down 1,000 insurgents whose inability to join the main body of insurgents, around the Zapote River, in opposing the main body of the U.S. Army, ensured an overwhelming victory for the Americans. By the morning of June 14, 1899, the army had captured the town of Bacoar and ended the southern expedition. For their specific gallantry in landing as reinforcements in cooperation with the army, Lawton expressed thanks and appreciation to the officers and men from the gunboat *Helena* and monitor *Monadnock*.¹⁰⁴ A proud Captain Albert Barker, Commander-in-Chief of Naval Forces on Asiatic Station, stated "that the navy will do all in its power to assist the army in putting an end to the war."¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ CINC Asiatic, "Squadron General Order No. 2", Jun. 27, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁰⁵ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Jun. 15, 1899; *ibid*.

7. Monsoons and Reorganization

It is important to take a brief minute to juxtapose several key items that occurred during the summer of 1899. The summer is monsoon season in the Philippines and not much happens on the ground during this time. By the end of May, weather conditions and the imminent withdrawal of the state volunteers restricted the 8th Corps' movements.¹⁰⁶ The southern punitive expedition that resulted in the Zapote River Campaign would be the last for the army until fall, and as stated earlier, the 2nd Division in the north was at a standstill. In his report to the adjutant-general in late June, Otis wrote that the rainy season had started and little campaigning was possible in Luzon. The current line being held by the army extended from Imus in the south to San Fernando in the north. The insurgent Army of Liberation, consisting of about 4,000 troops, were in the province of Tarlac, and roughly 2,000 men were in the southern provinces of Cavite and Batangas.¹⁰⁷

Organization of American forces in the Philippines was an issue. By mid-July, the War Department was interested in organizing the Philippines into military departments (Department of Visayas having already been established). Otis recommended that four military departments be created with headquarters at Manila, Dagupan, Iloilo, and Zamboanga. The only problem was that Dagupan and Zamboanga were not in American possession.¹⁰⁸ The issue remained idle until the War Department in September directed Otis to draw the department lines and expedite the taking of Dagupan.¹⁰⁹ Otis suggested that the first department would be that of Northern Luzon and consist of all portions of the island north of the provinces of Bataan, Pampanga, Bulacan, and Infanta, with its headquarters in Dagupan. The second department would be that of Southern Luzon consisting of the remainder of Luzon and the southern islands north of the 12th parallel of latitude to include the island of Samar, with its headquarters in Manila. The third department would be that of the Visayas and include all Philippine Islands situated

¹⁰⁶ Linn, 121.

¹⁰⁷ Otis to AGWAR, Jun. 26, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1019.

¹⁰⁸ Otis to AGWAR, Jul. 16, 1899, *ibid.*, 1033.

¹⁰⁹ Corbin to Otis, Sep. 17, 1899, *ibid.*, 1070-1071.

entirely north of the 9th parallel of latitude and east of meridian of longitude 121° 50', with its headquarters in Iloilo, Panay. The last department, fourth, department of Mindanao and Jolo, would consist of all the remaining islands, with its headquarters in Zamboanga.¹¹⁰

The actual implementation of the department organization would not be put into effect until the proceeding year, but its importance is instrumental in two facets. First, the placing of the island of Samar into the Southern Luzon district was a paramount mistake. Samar is actually part of the Visayan island group, and placing it under a different authority than the islands in close proximity created a lack of unity of command. Second, the navy was subsequently looking to organize itself. During this first year it employed a system of "parent ships", which will be covered in-depth later in this chapter. But, the following year, it would adopt an organization similar to that of the army and use four patrol districts.

The most significant issue faced by American forces was that of manpower. Military obligations had already stretched resources thin for the army, so the additional losses to typhoid, cholera, and dysentery greatly exacerbated an already pressing problem. Added to this was that the majority of troops were state volunteers. Having enlisted in state militias for use during the Spanish-American War as United States Volunteer troops, once Spain ratified the peace treaty on April 11, 1899, these obligations ended. Not able to be spared, the volunteers were retained until regular army troops could arrive, but the process was slow. The army did not have nor was authorized the regular troop strength required to occupy the Philippines. By the end of May, Congress and State pressure forced the War Department to begin to repatriate the volunteers. While losing 16,000 volunteer soldiers, barely 7,000 regular troops arrived.¹¹¹ Even with the passage of the Army Act of March 2, 1899, which increased the strength of the army and authorized up to 35,000 new U.S. Volunteers for service in the Philippines, a sizable force could not be in theater until the fall of 1899.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Otis to AGWAR, Sep. 29, 1899, *ibid.*, 1077.

¹¹¹ Linn, 114.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 88-91, 125.

The navy at the same time was facing similar shortages in personnel and vessels. On May 20, 1899, the hero of the Battle of Manila Bay, Dewey departed on the *Olympia*. Captain Albert S. Barker, commanding officer of the battleship *Oregon*, the only one of its class on Asiatic Station, assumed command of the Asiatic Station until the Rear Admiral John C. Watson arrived and assumed command on June 20, 1899. With the departure of Dewey, greater emphasis was placed on the blockade and will be discussed in the section devoted to the blockade. The composition of the fleet at this time was the *Oregon*, cruiser *Baltimore* and gunboat *Concord* anchored off Manila. The monitor *Monterey* and gunboat *Callao* were guarding the Cavite Arsenal. The monitor *Monadnock* was assigned to protect the right flank of General Ovenshire's brigade south of Manila. The gunboat *Helena* was engaged in transporting Army troops to Jolo to relieve the Spanish garrison there. The gunboat *Castine* was steaming to Zamboanga, Mindanao to offer protection to Spanish troops during their evacuation. The gunboat *Petrel* was cruising along the east coast of Luzon. The gunboat *Yorktown* was stationed at Iloilo, Panay, and the cruiser *Boston* was at Cebu. The former revenue cutter *Wheeling* was blockading the port of Dagupan on Lingayen Bay in northern Luzon. And, the cruiser *Charleston* was ferrying Senator Albert J. Beveridge around the major ports of the archipelago during his independent inspection into the state of affairs, a trip that no doubt led to his famous speech before Congress on January 9, 1900, justifying the annexation of the Philippines.¹¹³ The gunboat *Princeton* arrived on May 26, 1899 and was immediately ordered to Iloilo, Panay to assist in blockading duties. On June 4, 1899 the gunboat *Bennington* arrived on station. The former Spanish gunboats *Albay* and *Samar*, now U.S.

¹¹³ Albert J. Beveridge, Senator of Indiana, "Policy Regarding the Philippines" (speech presented before the 56 Congress, 1st Session, Jan. 9, 1900), Available [Online]: <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/ajb72.htm> [Nov. 7, 2004]. The following are excerpts from Senator Beveridge's speech: "Mr. President, the times call for candor. The Philippines are ours forever, 'territory belonging to the United States.' As the Constitution calls them. And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. . . . And the Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future. Most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. The power that rules the Pacific, therefore, is the power that rules the world. And, with the Philippines, that power is and will forever be the American Republic. . . . We have been delayed, first, by a failure to comprehend the immensity of our acquisition; and, second, by insufficient force, and third, by our efforts for peace. . . . this war is like all other wars. It needs to be finished before it is stopped. . . . A lasting peace can be secured only by overwhelming forces in ceaseless action until universal and absolutely final defeat is inflicted on the enemy. . . . Mr. President, reluctantly and only from a sense of duty am I forced to say that American opposition to the war has been the chief factor in prolonging it."

naval vessels, began cruising among the islands using Iloilo as a base while the gunboat *Manileño* cruised using Cebu as its base. The gunboat *Helena* returned on June 9, 1899 from Jolo and aided in the Army's advance on June 10, 1899, as previously discussed.¹¹⁴

When the army took initial possession of the former Spanish gunboats, Otis planned to use them to support garrisons and suppress smuggling, but an infuriated Dewey swore that he would attack any such vessels as being pirates and sink them.¹¹⁵ A compromise was reached where the Army would retain the *Laguna de Bay*, *Napindan*, and *Oesta*, and the navy would take the seagoing gunboats. A rough joint relationship evolved in which army post commanders would request assistance from the senior naval officers present. Naval officers were in turn ordered to cooperate fully with the Army.

Rear Admiral J.C. Watson's assumed Commander-in-Chief, United States Naval Force on Asiatic Station on June 20, 1899, with the *Baltimore*, *Monterey*, *Monadnock*, *Helena*, *Manila*, *Petrel*, *Callao*, *Panay*, *Urdaneta*, and *Mariveles* all assembled in Manila Bay for his review. His first action was to dispatch the gunboats *Mindoro*, *Manila*, and *Basco* to patrol off Batangas Bay in southern Luzon and for the *Helena* and *Mariveles* to patrol Iloilo, Panay.¹¹⁶ In an effort to reorganize the navy within the Philippines, on July 1, 1899, Watson issued Squadron General Order Number 3 which reorganized the ships operating in the Philippines. This policy was actually a continuation of the policy set forth in a Memorandum for Gunboats issued on May 26, 1899, by Lieutenant E. W. Eberle by direction of the Commander-in-Chief Asiatic then, Captain Barker. In it he assigned each gunboat to a specific parent ship (see Table 1), and the parent ship was responsible for manning, equipping, arming, and repair.¹¹⁷ Coal, oil, waste, and water were to be provided by the Army in Manila, and docking was accomplished in Hong Kong when needed and vessels could be spared.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Jun. 13, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹¹⁵ H.W. Standley, "Sons of Gunboats" (1945); Operations of Gunboats in the Philippines, 1900-1902; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

¹¹⁶ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Jun. 23, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹¹⁷ CINC Asiatic, "Squadron General Order Number 3", Jul. 1, 1899; Instructions, Special Orders, Subject File IS; RG 45; NAB.

¹¹⁸ CINC Asiatic Annual Report, Aug. 17, 1899; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

As the navy reorganized itself during this period, it faced crew shortages. On May 21, 1899, the gunboat *Albay* was given to the navy by the army, and on the 26th, three more gunboats were manned by the navy. General Otis had purchased all the remaining Spanish gunboats (thirteen) in the Philippines, not already destroyed or captured, on March 19, 1899 (this does not include the captured Spanish gunboats *Isla de Cuba*, *Isla de Luzon*, and *Don Juan de Austria* which were being repaired at Hong Kong).¹¹⁹ By late May 1899, the army had turned all these gunboats over to the Navy.¹²⁰ The navy's attempt to man all the gunboats created a great strain. In a letter from Secretary of the Navy John D. Long to Watson on October 27, 1899, he admitted difficulty in obtaining men needed just for the gunboats *Isla de Cuba*, *Isla de Luzon*, and *Don Juan de Austria*.

Table 1. Parent Ship Assignments¹²¹

Vessel Name	Parent Ship	Patrol Duty
<i>Pampanga</i> (Gunboat)	Princeton (Gunboat)	Lingayan Gulf
<i>Paragua</i> (Gunboat)	Concord (Gunboat)	Lingayan Gulf
<i>Samar</i> (Gunboat)	Oregon (Battleship)	Panay and Negros
<i>Albay</i> (Gunboat)	Yorktown (Gunboat)	Panay and Negros
<i>Calamianes</i> (Gunboat)	Bennington (Gunboat)	
<i>Panay</i> (Gunboat)	Monadnock (Monitor)	Luzon
<i>Manileño</i> (Gunboat)	Charleston (Protected Cruiser)	Leyte and Samar
<i>Mariveles</i> (Gunboat)	Helena (Gunboat)	Leyte and Samar
<i>Mindoro</i> (Gunboat)	Baltimore (Protected Cruiser)	Batangas Bay
<i>Basco</i> (Gunboat)	Baltimore (Protected Cruiser)	Batangas Bay
<i>Gardoqui</i> (Gunboat)	Monterey (Monitor)	Navotas
<i>Urdaneta</i> (Gunboat)	Oregon (Battleship)	Manila Bay

¹¹⁹ Otis to AGWAR, Mar. 19, 1899, *Correspondence*, 938.

¹²⁰ Otis to AGWAR, May 28, 1899, *ibid.*, 997.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

The number of sea going officers in the navy was not sufficient to meet the demands of the squadron. To rectify the problem, Long directed that the battleship *Oregon*, and monitors *Monadnock*, and *Monterey* be placed in reserve and their crews reduced by one-third so as to free up manpower to crew the gunboats. His reasoning was that the three ships (*Oregon*, *Monadnock*, and *Monterey*) were not considered available for general cruising purposes in the Philippines and thus of little use.¹²² By November, signs that the problem was being addressed appeared. In Fleet General Order Number 22, Watson announced that a gradual change would be made from the present system of parent ships.¹²³ In Fleet General Order Number 24, Watson formalized the establishment of complements for gunboats, and designated that crews were to be transferred from the ships that had previously acted as the parent ship.¹²⁴ Whereas previously, crews of the gunboats were temporarily assigned from the larger vessels, a system of permanent assignment was created by taking the largest of the warships (monitors and battleships) and placing them in reserve.

Manning and organizational issues dominated both the army and navy during the initial onset of hostilities, and subsequently for the years following. Both services faced an uphill battle as they fought against the context of the Constitution in which the services main purpose was for the defense of the United States. While the army and navy could be increased during times of war, and augmented with state militias, the Philippine Insurrection created the need for a permanent-large size military force. With the lull in the fighting during the summer monsoons, American forces dealt as best they could with their problems, and by the fall, they were ready for action.

8. Cavite, October 7 – 13, 1899, and January 4 – February 9, 1900

The Cavite Campaign was similar to the San Isidro Campaign in that it consisted of two separate expeditions. The first consisted of a punitive expedition launched in October 1899. The second was launched in January 1900 as the last conventional campaign on Luzon after the Army of Liberation disintegrated in the north.

¹²² SECNAV to CINC Asiatic, Oct. 27, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹²³ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet General Order Number 22", Nov. 2, 1899; SF IS; *ibid*.

¹²⁴ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet General Order Number 24", Nov. 10, 1899; *ibid*.

The conclusion of summer brought the end of the monsoon season and the arrival of fresh troops. Otis set about launching a final campaign into the north to encircle the Army of Liberation, Aguinaldo, and thereby end the insurrection. Unfortunately, as Otis made preparations to move in the north, insurgent activity occurred along the southern lines. Attacks at Calamba, Los Baños, Imus, and Bacoor south of Manila, necessitated that the insurgents in Cavite Province be punished. On October 7, 1899 three columns set out to accomplish this objective (see Figure 7). Along the shore of Manila Bay, Brigadier General Theodore Schwan, Otis' Chief of Staff, advanced under the fire support provided by naval warships. U.S. Marines concurrently moved down from the Cavite Arsenal along the peninsula, also supported by the navy. And, Lawton swept along Laguna de Bay supported by the army's gunboats. Schwan's force left Bacoor and proceeded towards the town of Novaleta. Meeting heavy opposition, Marines, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George F. Elliott, and the gunboat *Petrel* provided timely and effective assistance. The *Petrel* and USMC drew off a considerable number of insurgents facing the army and prevented re-enforcements of the insurgents; thus, allowing the Army to capture Putol.¹²⁵ Further resistance was not encountered, so the expedition was halted on October 9, 1899, and the northern campaign began.¹²⁶

The second expedition of the Cavite Campaign occurred in early January 1900. Lawton was to begin operations in the south against the provinces of Cavite, Laguna, Batangas, and Tayabas. Unfortunately, on December 19, 1899, while taking the town of San Mateo in northern Luzon, General Lawton was struck in the chest while walking the firing line and died.¹²⁷ In an ironic tale, the General famed for the capture of Apache Chief Geronimo was struck down by insurgent troops under the command of General Licerio Geronimo.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet Order Number 25", Nov. 13, 1899; *ibid.*

¹²⁶ Otis to AGWAR, Oct. 9, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1082.

¹²⁷ Linn, 160-161.

¹²⁸ Fort Benjamin Harrison Historical Society, *Major General Henry Ware Lawton*, Available [Online] <http://www.msnusers.com/FortBenjaminHarrisonHistoricalSociety/whoislawtonloopnamedafter.msnw> [Sep. 19, 2004].

On January 4, 1900, Major General John C. Bates was given Lawton's 1st Division and began the final campaign to occupy the southern Tagalog provinces and wipe out armed resistance. Using two brigades under Schwan and Wheaton, the expedition departed for Cavite Province, the birthplace of president Aguinaldo. Cavite province turned out to be apparently quiescent, so General Bates turned his attention toward Laguna and Batangas.¹²⁹

The plan was for Schwan to push south on the eastern side of Lake Taal while General Wheaton pushed south on the western side of Taal. Both brigades would then meet up at the twin towns of Lemery and Taal (see Figure8). As Schwan prepared to take the town of Batangas on the west coast of southern Luzon, intelligence was received that insurgents were holding nine American soldiers at the town of Loboo, eight miles to the south. With the only access route being a rough trail and impassible, the gunboat *Mariveles* was used to convoy a detachment to the town. On January 16, 1899, the small force was landed, but after a brief search, found the no prisoners.¹³⁰ Schwan then sent troops north to Taal to meet up with Wheaton.

As Wheaton's troops moved against the towns of Lemery and Taal on January 17, 1899, they were aided by the navy. Major William H. Johnston attacking Lemery found stiff resistance, so using a navy gunboat along Balayan Bay on the west coast of Luzon, he landed a battalion at Taal, the insurgent headquarters, which drew off troops and allowed the taking of Lemery.¹³¹ On the outskirts of Taal, the 46th infantry battalion confronted 1,000 dug in Batangueno militia. Flanked by the sea and Lake Taal, the army's only access was a narrow bridge protected by insurgent artillery and breastwork. Sensibly, Major Johnston called in the gunboat *Marietta*. On January 19, 1900, the *Marietta*, landed 10,000 rounds of small arms ammunition, stores, and a detachment of marines, the *Marietta* then took position of enfilade the insurgent trenches. When the

¹²⁹ Linn, 166.

¹³⁰ Theodore Schwan, Brigadier General, to Otis, Feb. 11, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹³¹ Otis to AGWAR, Jan. 21, 1900. *Correspondence*, 1136.

assault started, the *Marietta* opened fire helping the army take the bridge and subsequently the town of Taal.¹³²

9. Tarlac, November 5 – 20, 1899

The Tarlac Campaign was the single military campaign in which no naval vessel was employed. Since the campaign occurred in central Luzon with no rivers, lakes, or sea in proximity, naval utility was negated. But, the campaign must be briefly discussed as it was part of the larger grand strategy of Otis for capturing the Filipino government, Aguinaldo, and destroying the insurgent army, a strategy that encompassed three separate campaigns, Tarlac, San Isidro, and San Fabian, the last two of which did employ the use of naval assets.

On November 5, 1899, MacArthur advanced up the rail line in an attempt to hold the attention of the insurgent army while the San Isidro Campaign, commanded by Lawton with Young, blocked the escape routes to the east, and the San Fabian Campaign, commanded by Wheaton, was landed by the navy on the Gulf of Lingayan and blocked the north.¹³³ But, as MacArthur entered Tarlac on November 13, 1899, Aguinaldo and his army had already fled and the city fell under American control.¹³⁴

As MacArthur continued his push along the railroad north, the final-battle to end the Army of Liberation never fully materialized. By November 20, 1899, MacArthur had reached the rail terminus and the city of Dagupan on the Gulf of Lingayan. While President Aguinaldo had escaped, portions of the insurgent army were trapped and fled into the western province of Zambales. For months afterwards, elements of MacArthur's division would be relegated to fighting small engagements, cleaning up the remnants of the Filipino Army.¹³⁵

¹³² *Marietta* to CINC Asiatic, Jan. 20, 1900, AF 10; RG 45; NAB; Linn, 168-169.

¹³³ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 3, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1092.

¹³⁴ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 13, 1899, *ibid.*, 1100.

¹³⁵ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 20, 1899, *ibid.*, 1104.

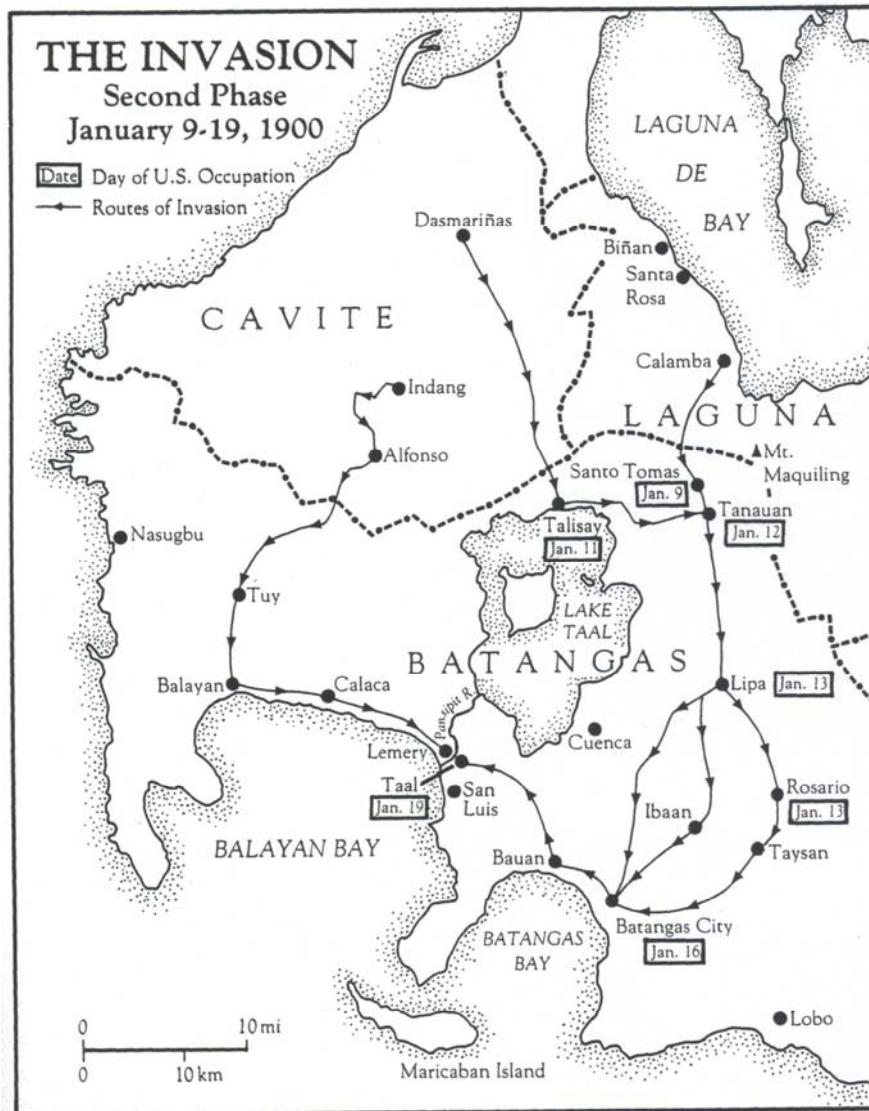


Figure 8. Southern Luzon (May, *Battle for Batangas*, 109)

10. San Fabian, November 6 – 19, 1899

The San Fabian Campaign was the last phase of Otis' plan to capture Aguinaldo and the Filipino Army of Liberation. With Lawton and Young sealing off the escape routes in the east, and MacArthur pushing the Army of Liberation up from the south, it was up to Wheaton to close the door on the northern escape route. Departing Manila on November 6, 1899, Wheaton and his forces arrived off San Fabian, on the shores of

Lingayen Gulf, on the transport ship *Sheridan* accompanied by the gunboats *Princeton*, *Manila*, *Bennington*, *Helena*, *Callao*, and *Samar*.¹³⁶

On November 7, 1899, the six navy gunboats subjected the extensive and elaborate trench fortifications about San Fabian to withering gunfire. The *Helena* was credited with knocking out the insurgent's only artillery piece, and the *Samar* and *Callao* steamed so close in that they were constantly exposed to musketry fire accomplishing their valuable work. After three hours of naval bombardment, the defenders abandoned their entrenchments and fled. For the next two hours and twenty minutes, Wheaton landed his expedition of two thousand men unopposed¹³⁷

While Aquinaldo slipped through between General Wheaton and General Young, the Army of Liberation was not so fortunate. Insurgent Brigadier General Manuel Tinio had marched to the town of San Jacinto with 1,200 troops, four miles south of San Fabian. After landing at San Fabian, General Wheaton sent out patrols south towards Dagupan. On November 11, 1899, the 33rd Infantry Battalion approached the town. Coming under intense insurgent fire, American forces proved too much for Tinio's untrained troops. The last of the Army of Liberation fled, leaving 134 of their dead comrades behind.¹³⁸ With the disintegration of the Army of Liberation in the north, the last campaign was launched in January 1900 into the province of Cavite as covered previously.

B. THE BLOCKADE

The naval blockade was the most important contribution by the navy. It struck at the crucial necessities of the insurgency: inter-island communications, operations, supplies, and finances. By severing waterborne traffic, the navy isolated each islands' resistance movement and prevented the transfer of reinforcements and the establishment of sanctuaries. Of equal importance was the destruction of the insurgent financial system which prevented the paying and feeding of insurgent troops. Unintentionally, at the same

¹³⁶ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 6, 1899, *ibid.*, 1095; Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 9, 1899, *idem*, 1098.

¹³⁷ Harry Knox, commanding officer *Princeton*, to CINC Asiatic, Nov. 10, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹³⁸ Linn, 149-150.

time it exacerbated an already present food crisis within the archipelago. By July 1899, the insurgent General Vicent Lukban commanding the island of Samar, who had crossed over from Luzon on January 26, 1899, with six hundred men and would become as famous as Aguinaldo, complained that the blockade had reduced him to eating little more than yams and rice. Within the American armed forces there were differing opinions concerning the blockade. Watson was concerned about its legality, Hughes was an enthusiastic supporter, and Otis was ambiguous, feeling that it increased problems of order and stability, but that it was necessary. The military commander on Cebu, General Smith, protested its existence.

The largest difficulty in discussing the naval blockade during 1899 is clear structure. As previously stated, under Dewey there was a distinct lack of organization and direction. Through the comments of naval officers rather than issued directives, it is clear that vessels were dispatched at different times to cruise around the islands and interdict illicit trade. It was not until after Dewey departed that fleet circulars and general orders began to appear that defined the blockade and mandated specific reporting requirements. As 1899 came to a close, traces of monthly and quarterly reports began to appear that provide a greater insight into the actual daily activities of the ships stationed throughout the islands. This section seeks to attempt to piece together what actually transpired during the first year of hostilities in regards to the blockade.

A major concern since the build up of tensions and the following hostilities with the insurgents was the importation of contraband of war from abroad. The President himself directed that no arms or ammunition of war were to be landed in the Philippines.¹³⁹ In the President's instructions on the administration of affairs in the Philippine Islands, he specifically stated at the end of December 1898, "All ports and places in the Philippine Islands in the actual possession of the land and naval forces of the United States will be opened to the commerce of all friendly nations. All goods and wares, not prohibited for military reasons by due announcement of the military authority, will be

¹³⁹ SECWAR to Otis, Nov. 30, 1898, *Correspondence*, 841.

admitted upon payment of such duties and other charges as shall be in force at the time of their importation.”¹⁴⁰

Throughout the Philippine Insurrection, intelligence from abroad would indicate that the insurgents were attempting to import arms and ammunition. In March 1899, the Counsel General of Hong Kong, Rounseville Wildman, wrote to the Counsel General Pratt in Singapore concerning a possible insurgent arms shipment from the Netherlands Indies to the City of Malacca, then to Mindanao, and finally to a port in Luzon.¹⁴¹ Unfortunately, there is no evidence that any large arms shipment was interdicted in the Philippines by the navy. While it is plausible that arms shipments did reach the insurgents, it is also possible that the navy’s blockade served as a deterring factor. Evidence and opinion seem to support this later belief as the insurgents were always short of ammunition and arms.¹⁴² From insurgent records it has been learned that the shortage was so bad that insurgent General Macabulo resorted to offering rewards for captured rifles and ammunition. Aguinaldo’s attack on American forces in San Miguel de Mayumo on May 25, 1899, failed because of a lack of ammunition, and General Antonio Luna’s defeat at Bagbag has been attributed to the lack of ammunition.¹⁴³

Another factor is the efforts of the State Department and Department of the Navy to prevent shipments of arms from outside the Philippine Islands. At key points outside the islands, such as Singapore, China, and Japan, diplomats and gunboats sought to stop illicit trade in war materials from ever leaving for the Philippines. It is assumed that these efforts, diplomatic and naval, combined to significantly curtail if not stop arms shipments to the insurgency.

Singapore became such a focal point for possible arm shipments that the *Princeton* was directed to visit Singapore to look into rumors about certain “finance people” aiding the insurrection. Arriving on March 25, 1899, the crew of the *Princeton*

¹⁴⁰ AGWAR to Otis, Dec. 21, 1898, *ibid.*, 858-859.

¹⁴¹ Rounseville Wildman, Hong Kong Consul General, to E. Spencer Pratt, Singapore Consul General, Mar. 22, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁴² John Morgan Gates, *Schoolbooks and Krags: the United States Army in the Philippines, 1898-1902* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 96.

¹⁴³ Taylor, 2: 178, 181-182, 208.

inquired about town concerning the allegations, but no substantial basis was found. What was discovered was that arms could be transported through the port, as Singapore was a free port without customs, and invoices of shipments might easily be falsified. Such methods had supplied arms to the Achenese guerillas in Dutch Sumatra during their insurgency since 1873. A recommendation at the time by the British Governor, in breaking up such illicit trade, was to employ a fleet of gunboats. Following the Spanish-American War, a number of Spanish Flagged coasting vessels that had fled to Sandakan, North Borneo, and begun trading again amongst the islands. While this was forbidden, the promise of large returns attracted speculators in Singapore. While regular commercial channels of cash payment had been disorganized by the war, bartering voyages, receiving hemp primarily for foreign goods, netted gains of up to eighty percent profit.¹⁴⁴

Within Manila Bay itself, illicit trade was often conducted right in front of the U.S. fleet. While assigned to patrol Manila Bay in April 1899, the gunboat *Princeton* interdicted numerous boats running the blockade within the bay. In many instances the boats were too near to land for even a gunboat, but a shot or two would send the crew to shore, abandoning their cargo. Larger prizes were also caught within the bay; a number of two-masted schooners were seized and turned over to the commandant at Cavite Arsenal by the *Princeton*. Cargo more often than not consisted of tobacco, clothing, and foodstuffs: none of the vessels had permission to trade within the bay.¹⁴⁵ When the *Princeton* was sent the following month, May 1899, to the town of Batangas to deliver the Proclamation of the Commission, she interdicted illicit trade enroute. While in the vicinity of Batangas and Taal, she seized several vessels for illegal traffic, including the American brigantine *Champana*, schooner *Carmen a Venus*, and the schooner *Nuestra Señor del Remedio*.¹⁴⁶

If the navy's campaign in the early part of 1899 appears sporadic and disorganized, that is because it was. The blockade under Dewey lacked serious direction and organization. Vessels were often dispatched haphazardly to interdict illicit trade or

¹⁴⁴ *Princeton* to SECNAV, Apr. 5, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁴⁵ *Princeton* to CINC Asiatic, Apr. 28, 1899; *ibid*.

¹⁴⁶ *Princeton* to CINC, May 4, 1899; *ibid*.

simply engaged in the blockade during or when not employed in other tasks. This was in due partly because there were not enough vessels to adequately patrol the archipelago, but also because Dewey failed to provide a structural basis for implementing a blockade and specific instructions. While the Military Governor was tasked to define the policy, the navy was instructed to carry it out.¹⁴⁷ In an example of the problems regarding the blockade, the Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Naval Forces on Asiatic Station, Captain A.S. Barker, had to explain to the Secretary of the Navy that gunboats were adhering to orders given by Dewey to seize vessels trading without licenses or at ports not in American control.¹⁴⁸ With the changing of the guard to Admiral Watson, a clearly defined policy and strategy began to materialize. As the system of “parent ships” was implemented, the senior officers began to provide instructions for the gunboats under their command. The *Yorktown* issued instructions to the effect that the mission of the navy was the annihilation of trade with Philippine ports not in possession of the United States and to aid in the protection of the military through naval cooperation. Under Watson, as previously mentioned, gunboats started operating under a system of “parent ships”, which were assigned to certain ports, Manila, Iloilo, or Cebu, and created informal patrol areas that would be formalized the following year.¹⁴⁹

Unfortunately, Otis, the Military Governor, continuously wavered on the blockade policy as the navy began to solidify its implementation. In early July, General Otis wrote that a number of ports in northern and southeastern Luzon, Samar, Leyte, Bohol, Cebu, and Negros were open for trade (none specified).¹⁵⁰ But, in his annual report, Otis only acknowledged that six ports were opened during 1899: Manila on August 13, 1898, Iloilo on February 22, 1899, Cebu on March 4, 1899, Zamboanga on December 2, 1899, Jolo on December 26, 1899, and Siassi on December 26, 1899.¹⁵¹ In his annual report, Otis made no mention of the ports in northern or southeastern Luzon, Samar, Leyte, Bohol, or

¹⁴⁷ Williams, 101-104.

¹⁴⁸ Albert S. Barker, CINC Asiatic, to SECNAV, May 27, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁴⁹ C.S. Sperry, commanding officer *Yorktown*, Jun. 3, 1899; *ibid*.

¹⁵⁰ Otis to AGWAR, Jul. 4, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1027.

¹⁵¹ United States War Department, *Annual Reports of the War Department for the year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 540.

Negros which he had earlier claimed as open, but were not under U.S. control until the following year, 1900. In a letter to Watson on July 27, 1899, General Otis explained his reasoning for advocating the opening of certain ports in the Philippine Islands that were still in the control of insurgents, and in direct contradiction to previous orders. His reasoning was based upon the populations need for food that it could not supply itself, the manufacturing industry needed the raw materials to continue furnishing employment to thousands of natives, and foreign business interests had large stakes in the tobacco, hemp, and sugar crops. But, while Otis advocated opening trade with insurgent ports, he only advocated it for the brief period during the harvesting of crops, and he still insisted that the trade must be checked by the navy¹⁵²

This left the navy facing a serious quandary. They (the navy) were supposed to implement a blockade policy as directed by the Governor General (Otis), but they were given conflicting orders. With the army only in possession of six major ports in the Philippines until 1900, the navy chose to simply continue to enforce a blockade that prohibited trading with ports not in American possession and of illicit cargo. Both infractions being in accordance with Army General Order 69, issued by Otis, which forbid coastal trade by foreign ships, native coastal trade without licenses, and trade within unequipped ports (not occupied by Americans), without the permission of the Military Governor, Department, or District commander.

While Otis felt that the starvation exacerbated by the blockade was detrimental to American efforts, not all Army officers believed the same. Because of crop failures, scarce labor, and the collapse of trade, early signs of an agriculture crisis appeared on the Island of Panay. With General Hughes assuming command, he imposed a strict blockade on foodstuff, only allowing trade within the port of Iloilo. Those outside the city were only allowed one day's worth of rations. The outcome had the effect Hughes was seeking; by August the native population in the American zones, towns under U.S. control, had doubled.¹⁵³ Hughe's success would later lead to the policy of concentration

¹⁵² Military Governor to CINC Asiatic, Jul. 27, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁵³ Linn, 72-73

or reconcentration throughout the archipelago and the adoption of similar strategies in other areas.

While the debate over inter-island trade ensued, the threat of the importation of foreign war materials continued. In June, 1899, reports of arms and ammunition being smuggled from Hong Kong, marked as “agricultural implements” was received, and in August, reports were confirmed that the insurgents were trying to obtain eight rapid-fire guns from Europe that had been purchased in Germany.¹⁵⁴ Between July and August 1899, a flurry of official correspondence between the Secretary of the Navy, Office of Naval Intelligence, the Commander-in-Chief Asiatic Station, United States Ministers, United States Consuls at Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Hankow, and the Naval Attaché at Tokyo transpired concerning the Belgian Steamer *Equatoria*. The steamer was allegedly to be carrying 150 tons of war materials for the Philippines under coal in the forehold.¹⁵⁵ Unfortunately, there is no further documentation concerning the *Equatoria*. Whether she was interdicted, delivered arms to the Philippines, or was found not be carrying arms remains unknown.

In another incident, this one drawing press attention in Japan, the Japanese steamer *Nunobiki-Maru* was alleged to have been attempting to smuggle war materials from Japan to the Philippines. Confirmed by the Naval Attaché in Tokyo, the steamer was loaded with a considerable quantity of gun powder and munitions. Of the five passengers aboard, four were Filipino. Departing from Nagasaki for Formosa on July 17, 1899, the vessel foundered in heavy weather near Saddle Island off Shanghai and was abandoned.¹⁵⁶ The Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, under pressure from the U.S. Minister, made a private investigation, but reported that nothing was found to substantiate the allegations. A further investigation, by the Naval Attaché in Tokyo, suggested otherwise. The attaché, using contacts in Kobe and Nagasaki, ascertained that an officer

¹⁵⁴ Corbin to Otis, Jun. 23, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1017; Corbin to Otis, Aug 17, 1899, *idem*, 1055; Corbin to Otis, Aug. 26, 1899, *idem*, 1059; Corbin to Otis, Dec. 26, 1899, *idem*, 1126; Corbin to Otis, Jan. 17, 1900, *idem*, 1134.

¹⁵⁵ Chief Intelligence Officer to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Aug, 28, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁵⁶ Naval Attache, Tokyo, to Alfred Eliab Buck, Minister of the United States, Tokyo, Nov. 13, 1899; *ibid*.

of the Japanese Army was onboard the *Nunobiki-Maru*. He (attaché) reported that it seemed most improbable that with Japan's rigid and strict laws concerning arms and ammunition, that war material would be put on board without the knowledge of the army. It was the personal opinion of the attaché that the Japanese government covered up the affair to hide the army's involvement. He further believed that the investigation and public press would greatly hinder further attempts on part of the Japanese to smuggle war materials into the Philippines.¹⁵⁷ Later, it would be found that the shipment was organized by the Chinese revolutionary Sun Yat-sen in an attempt to contribute to the Asian resistance against the West.¹⁵⁸

In late December 1899, in a confidential circular to commanding officers, Watson informed all commanding officers that the German steamer *Emma J.C. Luyken* was sailing with arms and ammunition, the Hamburg-American steamer *Savoai* sailed carrying one hundred and seventy boxes of rifles, and an unknown vessel sailed with a large quantity of ammunition in route for the Philippines.¹⁵⁹ In a manner that became so common in regards to the shipment of large arm caches, further information is nonexistent. But, on the issue of these three vessels, the tracking of their progress would continue into the next year, and will be covered in the next chapter.

Regardless of the problems over policy and possible shipments, the ships of the Asiatic Station continued their daily implementation of the blockade as seen through the individual reports of ships. While operating off the island of Panay, the gunboat *Samar*, commanded by Ensign H.C. MacFarland, destroyed 13 schooners engaged in illicit trade from June 4 to June 8, 1899.¹⁶⁰ Commander C.S. Sperry of the *Yorktown*, station ship at Iloilo, Panay, reported that insurgents were infiltrating into the islands of Negros and Leyte from southwestern Luzon and Panay. General Hughes, the Army District Commander, was of under the same belief, so the gunboat *Samar* was given cruising

¹⁵⁷ Naval Attache, Tokyo, to SECNAV, Nov. 14, 1899; *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ William R. Braisted, *The United States Navy in the Pacific, 1897-1909* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1958), 72.

¹⁵⁹ John C. Watson, CINC Asiatic, "Confidential Circular for Commanding Officers", Dec. 28, 1899; SF IS; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁶⁰ *Samar* to *Yorktown*, senior officer present, Iloilo, Jun. 10, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

orders to break up this traffic.¹⁶¹ This cruising area would become a primary area of concern and a major focus for the navy throughout the remainder of the conflict. On June 21, 1899, Watson, ordered the gunboats *Mindoro* and *Basco* to the area of Batangas Bay in southern Luzon for the purpose of breaking up illicit trade.¹⁶² In a demonstration of the results accomplished by the navy's blockade, the gunboat *Mariveles* reported that from July 30, 1899 to August 3, 1899, in vicinity of Panay, she inspected 18 vessels and found 10 to be engaged in illicit trade.¹⁶³

As Otis vacillated on the issue of the blockade, as noted earlier, the navy's policy was formalized by mid-year. Commander E.D. Taussig (of the famous naval family), captain of the station ship *Bennington*, issued instructions for gunboats operating out of Cebu. Using orders by the Commander-in-Chief of Asiatic Station, he stated the purpose of cruising "is the annihilation of trade with Philippine ports not in the possession of our own forces".¹⁶⁴ To further clarify instructions for vessels, on August 19, 1899, Watson reiterated that "illicit trade" will be applied to 1) any vessels flying the Filipino flag, 2) trading with closed ports, or 3) carrying contraband.¹⁶⁵ Since only three ports were open at this time, Manila, Iloilo, and Cebu, and since contraband included matches, rice, oil, and hemp, illicit cargo applied to most of the waterborne trade throughout the islands. Vessels that were caught engaged in illicit trade would be destroyed or be towed to the nearest American port. In either instance, an appraisal report of the vessel and its cargo was prepared. Very few of these appraisals remain, but the report on banca boat No. 15780, captured by the gunboat *Petrel* and prepared by the Board of Appraisal at Cavite Station, provides an example of what the navy was interdicting (see Table 2).

It's hard to imagine that the listed items of the appraisal report were vital to the insurgent cause or a threat to American forces. But with the volume of Filipino small-boat traffic, these numbers have to be taken in the context of the larger picture. The

¹⁶¹ *Yorktown* to CINC Asiatic, Jun. 12, 1899; *ibid.*

¹⁶² CINC Asiatic to *Mindoro*, Jun. 21, 1899; *ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Mariveles* to senior officer present, Aug. 3, 1899; *ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ Edward D. Taussig, commanding officer *Princeton*, senior officer present Cebu, "Instruction for Gunboats" to CINC Asiatic, Aug. 7, 1899; *ibid.*

¹⁶⁵ CINC Asiatic to senior officer at Cebu, Aug. 19, 1899; *ibid.*

insurgents needed supplies, and while one or two banca boats may seem insignificant, if these numbers were ten, twenty, or thirty, you have the means to supply a small army. It can also be looked at from the standpoint of trade and financial gain for the insurgents. While customs and duties on such small inter-island trade would be small, if the quantity of shipments was large, this could prove to be a large source of revenue. It is not revealed why banca No. 15780 was captured; if she was flying the Filipino flag, trading in a closed port, or if her cargo was the sole reason. But, as will be demonstrated by such efforts, the interdiction of such coastal commerce (as banca boat No. 15780) greatly aided in the army's pacification of the Philippine Islands by denying food, supplies, communication, transportation, and a tax resource to the insurgents.

Table 2. Appraisal Report for Banca No. 15780¹⁶⁶

Quantity	Item	Value
1	Banca	100.00
35 boxes	Bread	35.00
20 sacks	Limes	20.00
4 sacks	Flour	14.00
3	Shovels	7.50
5 gallons	Linseed oil	10.25
7 bottles	Vino	3.50
5 pounds	Onions	.10
10000	Cocanuts	25.00
9 boxes	Sardines	.45
250 pounds	Soap	7.50
32 packs	Playing cards	3.20
4 cases	Matches	4.00
3 boxes	Cigars	3.60
1 package	Brown linen	3.00
4 bottles	Varnish	1.20

¹⁶⁶ U.S. Naval Station, Cavite, to Marine Commandant, Sep. 15, 1899; *ibid.*

Quantity	Item	Value
12	Umbrellas	9.00
1 box	Pepper	1.00
4 bags	Good tobacco	100.00
1 box	Cigarette tobacco	75.00
17 bags	Course cut tobacco	255.00
50 pounds	Sugar	2.50
7 pounds	Sweets	1.00
1	Lantern	1.00
20	Torches	2.00
1.5 pounds	Linen thread	.75
2500 packages	Cigarette papers	125.00
120 yards	Cotton drilling	6.00
30 yards	Bleached drilling	4.50
1 lot	Assorted Cotton cloths	3.00
1 lot	Yankee rations	1.00
1	Iron pot	1.00
2	Glass jars	.50
1000 packages	Cigarettes	50.00

While enforcing the blockade, illicit trade was not the only item the insurgents were transporting by water. On October 14, 1899, after being informed by the Visayan Military District Commander, Brigadier General Hughes, that insurgents were trying to cross over from Iloilo, Panay to Negros, the *Concord* was directed to proceed to the Iloilo Straits. While searching the shore with search lights the gunboat came under heavy small arms fire to which she responded in kind, driving away the insurgents. Later that evening the *Concord* discovered a number of vessels standing out from Guimbal, but quickly drove them to shore. She encountered no more activity from the insurgents during her patrol of the area and upon returning to Iloilo, the commanding officer and General Hughes agreed to launch a combined expedition later in the week to force the insurgents

back into the interior and destroy any boats.¹⁶⁷ Whether the expedition was launched the following week or not is not documented, but it demonstrates the willingness of both the army and navy to work together to combat the insurgency.

As to the tactics employed in the blockade, other than routine patrolling, little is known from sources. But, in a letter from the parent ship at Cebu, the monitor *Monadnock*, to the gunboats *Calamianes* and *Panay*, one tactics is discussed.. The *Calamianes* was ordered to Point Kalunangon, Leyte on the morning of November 7, 1899, and was directed to search the coast southward, driving any illicit vessels toward the south. The *Panay* in the meantime would be stationed at the southern end of Leyte, in a blocking position to capture any fleeing vessels. Once the operation was complete, the gunboats were then ordered to conduct operations on the remaining sides of Leyte using the same tactic.¹⁶⁸

As the army slowly established itself in the southern islands, the policy of the blockade again came under scrutiny. Brigadier General John Bates was ordered by Otis, to treat the ports in the Sulu island group the same as all the other ports in the Philippines, meaning to stop illicit trade. The problem that arose was confounded by two issues. First, the agreement with the Sultan of Sulu called for the reintroduction of trade. Second, the Sulu island group and Mindanao, for which the sultan commanded, was inhabited mainly by Moros who where Muslims and staunchly adverse to the Christian Filipinos waging the insurgency. Moros often attacked and killed the insurgents. In response, the army acknowledging that the destruction of native boats trading with Sulu ports would cause serious trouble, only forbid trade to ports specifically controlled by insurgents, which were very few.¹⁶⁹ But, while inter-island trade was finally allowed in a limited manner in the south, all foreign trade within the Sulu Archipelago was forbidden with ports not actually in possession of U.S. forces. This policy instigated another problem as the British protested.

¹⁶⁷ Commanding Officer *Concord* to CINC Asiatic, Oct. 23, 1899; *ibid*.

¹⁶⁸ *Monadnock* to *Calamianes*, Nov. 4, 1899; *ibid*.

¹⁶⁹ John C. Bates, Brigadier General to Otis, Nov. 24, 1899; *ibid*.

From the Government House in North Borneo, the Chief Government Commissioner, Alexander Cook, claimed that the actions of the Commander-in-Chief U.S. Naval Forces Asiatic were contrary to the Protocol of Madrid, March 7, 1885. The Protocol, signed by Spain, Germany, and Great Britain, guided trade within the Archipelago, and Cook asserted that in taking possession of the islands, the United States assumed the treaty obligations.¹⁷⁰ British protests over the protocols prompted General Otis to inquire from the War Department if the protocol continued with the cession of territory to the United States.¹⁷¹ While waiting for a response, merchants in Singapore and Sandakan, Borneo sought clearance to trade with Jolo further complicating the issue. Otis reported that one merchant vessel was seized and fined and another forced to discharge its cargo for attempting to trade in the southern islands without U.S. permission. Finally, in response to Otis's inquiry, Adjutant General Corbin responded that the Secretary of War was of the opinion that the protocols had lapsed and could not be invoked.¹⁷²

As Watson implemented his policies for the Asiatic Station, a semblance of clear reporting began to emerge and further demonstrate the navy's accomplishments in the blockade. In a report to the Bureau of Navigation in October 1899, Watson reported that over a two-month period, from September to October, 70 vessels had been seized.¹⁷³ In his monthly report on the movements and appraisals of various ships and gunboats, Watson reported sixty letters of appraisals (letters from commanding officers concerning the vessels and cargo of ships destroyed for engaging in illicit trade) for the month of November.¹⁷⁴ The navy was clearly actively engaged in the blockade and producing results. In his annual report to the Secretary of the Navy, Watson told of the excellent service rendered by the former Spanish gunboats that the navy accepted from the army.

¹⁷⁰ Alexander Cook, Chief Government Commissioner, Borneo, to Charles S. Sperry, commanding officer, *Yorktown*, Nov. 15, 1899; *ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 4, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1094.

¹⁷² Corbin to Otis, Nov. 11, 1899, *ibid.*, 1099.

¹⁷³ CINC Asiatic to Bureau of Navigation, Oct. 1899; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁷⁴ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Dec. 2, 1899; *ibid.*

The gunboats were actively employed upon patrol duty breaking up illicit traffic to a degree that was inestimable.

With the success of the conventional war in Northern Luzon by December, 1899, Otis wrote that by January 1, 1900, all ports in northern Luzon would be open.¹⁷⁵ As the final campaigns in Luzon wrapped up, Hughes ended the stalemate on Panay. Increasing his efforts to starve the insurgents by shutting off trade from Iloilo to the interior, and with the use of naval gunboats, he banned all coastal trading, and on December 9, 1899, captured the provincial capital of Capiz.¹⁷⁶

As 1899 came to a close and 1900 began, the navy would find itself still heavily engaged in enforcing a blockade, but as more and more ports were opened the following year and trade increased, so did the importance of the blockade. 1900 would see new efforts by the navy to reorganize (patrol districts), but old problems such as the army's varying stance on the blockade would persist. The one constant was that the navy relied upon the gunboat to accomplish its tasks within the Philippines, a task that not only encompassed cooperation with the army and the blockade, but included other operations.

C. OTHER OPERATIONS

While cooperating with the army in its conventional campaigns and enforcing the blockade, the navy also participated in other operations expanding American presence throughout the archipelago. In this endeavor the navy at times assisted the army in establishing posts and rendering aid to remote army units, but also at times working independently to establish U.S. presence single-handedly. The navy in addition engaged in reconnaissance, intelligence collection, and generally filling the gap left by the army, whom required that, the limited number of troops be concentrated on Luzon. The problem in discussing these peripheral operations is that they were sporadically in time and in place. But, they must be covered; because, they demonstrate a role and a need that the navy filled.

The port of Cebu on the island of the same name surrendered on February 21, 1899, to the gunboat *Petrel*. It was Dewey who ordered the gunboat to the port, but the

¹⁷⁵ Otis to AGWAR, Dec. 23, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1124.

¹⁷⁶ Linn, 172-174.

unexpected naval capture of Cebu placed Otis in a predicament. Short of men, he had to dispatch two battalions to take possession of the island; something he was furious about and demonstrates that cooperation did not always go so smoothly.¹⁷⁷ The army established the sub-district of Cebu, separate of the Visayan Military District, and placed Lieutenant Colonel Thomas R. Hamer in charge. Lacking the manpower to occupy the entire island and quell the small insurgent force present, Hamer was forced to turn to diplomacy to pacify the island. Viewing the naval blockade as detrimental to the situation on Cebu, he allowed trading with closed ports and in illicit cargo, except for two ports he considered to be in insurgent hands.¹⁷⁸ When diplomacy failed, the army began operations against the insurgents. In what might possibly be the first instance of a Naval Gunfire Liaison Officer (NGLO), Naval Cadet E.N. McIntyre joined the 23rd Infantry under command of Captain Pendleton advancing upon insurgent strongholds in the mountains of Cebu on September 12, 1899. While under heavy insurgent fire, the naval party called in fire support missions upon the insurgent mountain fortifications from the monitor *Monadnock*, using “wig-wag” flags, and dislodged the insurgents.¹⁷⁹

On February 24, 1899, as Spanish forces prepared to withdrawal from the Sulu archipelago, and Island chain between Mindanao and Borneo, the Sultana of Sulu requested the immediate presence of American forces at the capital city of Jolo.¹⁸⁰ With matters in Jolo improving, Otis began preparations to send General J.C. Bates to make an agreement with the Sultan of Sulu.¹⁸¹ On August 20, 1899, Bates negotiated an agreement with the Sultan of Sulu who accepted U.S. sovereignty, and in return promised free trade and protection from insurgents and foreign powers. Brigadier General J.C. Bates attributed his successful expedition to Jolo in large part to the cooperation of the Navy’s, *Manila*, *Charleston*, *Castine*, and *Yorktown*, for providing transportation, intelligence, and assistance to the expedition.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Otis to Dewey, Feb. 26, 1899; Area 10 File; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁷⁸ Linn, 84-85.

¹⁷⁹ E.N. McIntyre to commanding officer, *Monadnock*, Sep. 16, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁸⁰ Pratt to Secretary of State, Feb. 24, 1899; *ibid*.

¹⁸¹ Otis to AGWAR, Jul. 4, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1027.

¹⁸² CINC Asiatic, “Fleet Circular Number 11”, Aug. 21, 1899; SF IS; RG 45; NAB.

On April 3, 1899, Dewey instructed the gunboat *Yorktown* to rescue a number of Spanish soldiers and priests from a large Filipino force at Baler, Luzon. Arriving on April 12, 1899, Lieutenant James C. Gilmore took a small landing party ashore to reconnoissance the Baler river and town. What exactly happened next would remain a mystery as Gilmore and his fourteen men went missing. Dewey would report that the boat was ambushed, fired upon and captured, fate unknown.¹⁸³ But, after the capture of San Fabian, Commander Edwin K. Moore, of the gunboat *Helena*, learned that Lieutenant Gilmore and four other Americans had been seen alive in insurgent hands.¹⁸⁴ Young on December 4, 1899, ordered Colonels Hare and Howze to pursue the retreating enemy through the mountains of northern Luzon and free Lieutenant Gilmore and his party. On the 8th of December Hare and Howze were informed that the party they were pursuing was being taken towards the port city of Aparri. On December 14, 1899, after traveling over twenty miles a day, and 300 miles since leaving San Fabian, the army expedition received supplies along the coast of northern Luzon from the navy; having worn practically through their shoes, the navy supplied the party with brand new boots.¹⁸⁵ Continuing their pursuit, Howze and Hare found the Gilmore party on December 18, 1899, abandoned by their insurgent captors who refused the order to execute the prisoners rather than surrender them. Out of food, delirious, and bleeding, the group (the rescuers and rescue's) was saved from uncertain fate on January 2, 1899 by a party sent from the gunboat *Princeton*. The navy immediately rushed supplies up river and brought the expedition down to the town of Aparri in the conclusion of one of the most heroic marches of the Philippine Insurrection.¹⁸⁶

On May 11, 1899, insurgent troops on Mindanao attacked the Spanish garrison at Zamboanga in an effort to occupy the town prior to the arrival of American forces as the Spanish withdrew. Three days later, on May 14, 1899, Manila received the report that the besieged Spanish garrison requested immediate assistance, but engaged in Luzon and

¹⁸³ Dewey to Long, Apr. 18, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB; Standley to Sperry, Apr. 12, 1899; idem.

¹⁸⁴ Edwin K. Moore, commanding officer, *Helena*, to CINC Asiatic, Nov. 10, 1899; ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Otis to AGWAR, Dec. 18, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1122.

¹⁸⁶ Linn, 157-158.

occupying Jolo, Otis did not have the manpower to spare. The solution came from the Secretary of War who recommended that a navy gunboat be dispatched.¹⁸⁷ On behest of President McKinley's concern over the issue at Zamboanga, Dewey dispatched the gunboat *Castine* by May 17, 1899, to cover the withdrawal of Spanish forces and maintain stability until army forces could be sent. But, when the gunboat arrived, the town was already occupied by insurgents, so she instead enacted a blockade of the port. Under constant harassment of the navy's blockade and the hostile Moro's around Zamboanga, the insurgents finally surrendered the town to Commander Samuel W. Very (*Castine*) on November 20, 1899.¹⁸⁸ Not intending to occupy the city until a later date, the army had to send several companies from neighboring Jolo, and by the end of the week Zamboanga was occupied by U.S. forces.¹⁸⁹ Bates, District Commander of Mindanao and Jolo, wrote from Zamboanga, Mindanao, concerning his sincere appreciation for the assistance of the navy in and around the Island of Mindanao: the navy's blockade of Zamboanga had "literally starved the natives into subjection".¹⁹⁰

The tale of the gunboat *Urdaneta* is tragic story that demonstrates the risk involved in naval operations during the Philippine Insurrection. On Sunday, September 17, 1899, the gunboat *Urdaneta* left her anchorage off Balanga and steamed up the Orani River to inspect cascos (small canoe type vessels) near the town. After inspecting every vessel in sight and finding no contraband or resistance, the *Urdaneta* began to turn around, but grounded on a sand bar. As the tide fell and any hopes of getting off the bar quickly diminished, all hands were ordered over the side to paint and scrape the exposed haul. As the day waned and the sailors of the *Urdaneta* finished their hull maintenance, insurgents attacked. Volley for volley of insurgent fire was answered with the ship's Nordenfeldt 37mm gun, Colt gun, and 1-pdr. cannon. With the Colt red hot, the firing pins on the 1-pdr. broken, and one barrel of the Nordenfeldt not firing, wounded Naval

¹⁸⁷ Otis to Dewey, May 14, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB; Otis to AGWAR, May 14, 1899, *Correspondence*, 988; Alger to Otis, May 14, 1899, *idem*, 989.

¹⁸⁸ Taylor, 2: 446-452.

¹⁸⁹ Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 20, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1105; Otis to AGWAR, Nov. 27, 1899, *idem*, 1110.

¹⁹⁰ Bates to CINC Asiatic, Dec. 21, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

Cadet W. C. Wood, ordered his crew into the ship's boat in an effort to try to escape to shore. As the crew rowed for shore, insurgents rushed down the river in pursuit. Cadet Wood was dead by this time, and as the crew attempted to swim the last leg to shore, Seaman William Mitchell, Samuel Stone, Machinist (1/C) Arthur W. Drummond, and Fireman (second class) Thomas Gray were killed. The remaining survivors, Coxswain Benjamin J. Green, Apprentice George D. Powers, Fireman John J. Farley, Ordinary Seaman Tilden Herbert and Edward Burke were captured by the Insurgents, but would be rescued by the army several months later.¹⁹¹ An expedition by the navy to reclaim the lost *Urdaneta* was launched at the beginning of October, 1899. Led by the gunboat *Petrel* and assisted by the gunboats *Helena*, *Barcelo*, *Mindoro*, *Gardoqui*, *Manila*, *Callao*, and *Basco*, the expedition steamed up the Orani River to the wreck of the *Urdaneta*. Gunfire from the gunboats drove insurgents away and protected the working party while they attempted to re-float the *Urdaneta*. After effecting repairs for the better part of a day, the *Urdaneta* was re-floated and towed out to sea and back to Manila where she was eventually repaired and put back into service.¹⁹²

On Luzon, as the army fought through the interior, the *Charleston*, *Monterey*, and *Concord* battled insurgents along Subic Bay. On the morning of September 23, 1899, the ships engaged insurgent entrenchments, barracks, and a mounted gun at the mouth of the Kalaklan River. After opening fire and driving the insurgents from their trenches, a landing party was deployed to the beach. After several attempts, the emplaced gun was finally destroyed and the landing force withdrew.¹⁹³

As Wheaton marched to San Fabian in the last part of the San Isidro Campaign, he dispatched Captain Batchelor with three companies, on November 22, 1899, to proceed to the new insurgent capital at Bayombong. For reasons unknown, the ambitious captain acted contrary to his orders and continued past his objective toward the Cagayan Valley and the town of Aparri. When an attempt to locate and arrest the captain for

¹⁹¹ Green, Coxswain, to commanding officer, *Oregon*, Dec. 5, 1899; *ibid.*; Watson to Long, Nov. 30, 1899; *idem*.

¹⁹² Commanding officer, *Petrel*, to CINC Asiatic, Oct. 12, 1899; *ibid.*

¹⁹³ Executive officer to commanding officer, *Monterey*, Sep. 23, 1899; *ibid.*

disobeying orders failed, Otis requested assistance from Watson. Watson dispatched Captain Bowman H. McCalla, commanding officer of the *Newark*, on December 3, 1899 from Cavite, to steam to Aparri and enter the Aparri River to locate the renegade army captain.¹⁹⁴ Upon arriving at Aparri along with the *Helena*, *Callao*, and *Princeton*, Commander McCalla made contact with insurgent General Daniel Tirona who surrendered all the forces of the Cagayan and Isabel provinces on December 11, 1899. Captain McCalla sent a steamboat up the Cagayan River for Captain Batchelor, whose party was found battered and beaten some ninety miles up the Aparri River.¹⁹⁵ In a personal note to Watson, McCalla, after the surrender of the Northwest Provinces, explained how the population was in want of supplies, and being pacified, he hoped that trade would be authorized at once, in the interests of the people. He reasoned that “the more quickly trade begins here, the sooner the war will be over, and the greater the effect of our occupation upon the other provinces of this island”.¹⁹⁶

As General Young mopped up in the Ilocos provinces, General MacArthur focused on the insurgent troops that had had been trapped and fled west. Brigadier General Frederick D. Grant was dispatched after the remnants of Army of liberation which escaped into the southwest Province of Zambales and Bataan. Re-supplied by the navy, he arrived on Subic Bay on December 10, 1899, and immediately took Olongapo and captured the naval station and arsenal there. With the assistance of Navy, he proceeded next to launch landings up and down the coast against the few remaining insurgents.¹⁹⁷

As introduced earlier under the section on the navy’s blockade, the most influential individual who would shape the future pacification campaign in the central Philippines was Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes, military commander of the Visayan Military District. His strategy focused on depriving the enemy of all means of sustenance. With the blockade of the navy and his own efforts in controlling the trade of foodstuff

¹⁹⁴ Otis to AGWAR, Dec. 7, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1115.

¹⁹⁵ Linn, 153-154; Bowman H. McCalla, commanding officer, *Newark*, to CINC Asiatic, Dec. 18, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB; Otis to AGWAR, Dec. 7, 1899, *Correspondence*, 1115.

¹⁹⁶ McCalla to Watson, Dec. 18, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

¹⁹⁷ Linn, 158-159.

into the Island of Panay, Hughes took the defensive and began to starve the insurgents out.¹⁹⁸ As his plan worked through the summer and into the fall as previously discussed, troop numbers increased, and he launched a military campaign to root out the remaining insurgents in late 1899. While Hughes was leading a column through the center of the Island, on December 5, 1899, a battalion of the 18th Infantry was sent to occupy the important towns on the East Coast of Panay. Using the gunboat *Elcano* as a transport and protected by the gunboats *Concord* and *Paragua*, troops were landed at Bonati, Ajui, Conception, and Estancia. While unloading a month's supply for the garrison at Sara, insurgent attacks were repelled by the gunfire from the two gunboats.

During Hughes' advance, insurgent documents were captured that indicated that the insurgent's communications were forwarded north and south through the central point of Romblon Island. The gunboats *Concord* and *Paragua* were dispatched with a small military force to disrupt the insurgent's line of communications. Upon arriving at Romblon, the American force found substantial breast works and an old Spanish fort manned by insurgent troops with several old cast iron smooth bore guns. As two companies of the 18th Infantry were landed, the insurgents opened fire. Quickly the two gunboats answered back with fire upon the fort and trenches, displacing the insurgents. Within forty minutes of the first shot, the entire town was in the possession of U.S. troops, with only two U.S. Army casualties taken.¹⁹⁹

D. CONCLUSION

The distinguished author Ronald Spector asserted that the navy played a relatively minor role in the Philippine Insurrection.²⁰⁰ Based upon the evidence shown in this chapter, he was incorrect. The Navy was crucial during the first year after the onset of hostilities in three facets: conventional military campaigns, blockading, and other operations. The navy was doing exactly what the Secretary of the Navy informed the President and Congress that they were doing in his annual report of 1899: "The principle duties of the Asiatic Station were to cooperate with the army in the capture of ports,

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., 71-72.

¹⁹⁹ *Concord* to CINC Asiatic, Dec. 21, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²⁰⁰ Ronald Spector, *Admiral of the New Empire: The Life and Career of George Dewey* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1974), 99.

landing, and protection of the Army. In patrolling, vessels were to maintain a blockade to such extend as determined by the general policy of the campaign laid down by the War Department".²⁰¹ While the army most assuredly deserves praise for conducting the majority of the fighting against the insurgents during the first year, it is in part due to the efforts of the navy that success was achieved.

In every one of the Army's conventional campaigns, except for one, the navy or at least the army's navy, played a role. From the beginning of hostilities, with the navy's bombardment of the southern line that enabled General Overshine's troops to breakout, to the last campaign, and the navy's shelling of enemy troops around Taal, the navy played a pivotal role. The blockade prevented insurgents from obtaining the arms and ammunition they needed to fight the American Army, and without trade to obtain funds from, the insurgent's ability to afford to feed and supply their troops decreased. The blockade also served to intercept the Filipino lines of communication and operations. Plus, in an archipelago that cultivated in cash crops, the blockade enabled the army to control necessities such as food to deprive the insurgents of sustenance and control the native population. With the army short of personnel, it fell upon the navy to fill the gap and project American presence throughout the island. While the army did establish a number of posts, supplying, transporting, and communicating was only achieved by aid of the navy.

While this chapter has discussed the three roles that the navy filled during the first year of hostilities, two major trends arose that warrant mention. First, the navy employed gunboats to accomplish the bulk of its tasking throughout the archipelago. These shallow draft vessels proved to have far greater utility against the insurgents than the larger and deeper draft vessels that were for the most part relegated to remaining import. On January 5, 1899, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Commodore Arent S. Crowninshield, urged the Secretary of the Navy to send light-draft vessels to the Asiatic Station to be used in the Philippines. At the time there were only officially (not including several captured Spanish gunboats) the gunboats *Petrel* and *Concord* assigned to the Asiatic Station. Crowninshield realized the need for the light-draft vessels in opening communications

²⁰¹ Navy, *Annual Reports for 1899*, 3.

with the numerous small ports throughout the islands, and recommended sending the gunboat *Bennington* from Guam.²⁰² The manning of the gunboats became such a necessity, that the Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Charles H. Allan, informed Dewey that decommissioning the monitors (Monterey and Monadnock) was being considered as a way to free up personnel to commission the captured Spanish gunboats.²⁰³ On May 11, 1899, Dewey emphatically informed the Secretary of the Navy that gunboats were urgently needed in the Philippines.²⁰⁴

While gunboats patrolled the islands, the larger and less mobile cruisers of the fleet remained for the most part anchored in one of the few deep water ports within the islands. When the larger vessels did venture out, it was at great risk. In a telling example of the futility of larger vessels within the archipelago, the cruiser *Charleston*, on March 4, 1899, while navigating among the islands looking for illicit trade, reported that navigation in these parts is often done by good lookouts searching for rocks and shoals. This manner of navigation was not possible for vessels with draft depths of nearly thirty feet, of which was the case of the *Charleston*.²⁰⁵ Ironically the *Charleston* struck a sunken, uncharted reef at 5:30 am on November 2, 1899. Grounding off the north end of Kamiguin Island, she was abandoned and considered a total loss; fortunately, there was no loss of life.²⁰⁶ While gunboats did not possess the firepower of the larger cruisers and monitors that did prove successful in several battles, the maneuverability and accessibility of the gunboat more than made up for it.

The second trend during this time period concerned the policy of pacification and the blockade. The goal was to stop illicit cargo from reaching insurgents and also stop trade that was financing the insurgency. The problem was how to accomplish this without negatively effecting the native civilian population and allowing legitimate foreign trade. General Otis vacillated as pressure from two sides, appeasement and provocation, sought

²⁰² Arent S. Crowninshield, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, to SECNAV, Jan. 5, 1899; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²⁰³ Dewey to SECNAV, May 2, 1899; *ibid*.

²⁰⁴ Dewey to SECNAV, May 11, 1899; *ibid*.

²⁰⁵ *Charleston* to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 4, 1899; *ibid*.

²⁰⁶ The late *Charleston* to CINC Asiatic, Nov. 28, 1899; *ibid*.

to ensure a policy that they believed worked best. General Hughes, facing insurgents on Panay, advocated a strict blockade. General Smith on Negros and Colonel Hamar on Cebu both took a benevolent approach and opened ports. What exacerbated the situation was the close proximity of the islands to each other and the fact that technically, Hughes was overall incharge as the Visayan Military District commander. But, violating the principle of war of “unity of command” Otis allowed the islands of Cebu and Negros to be sub-districts separate from Hughes authority. This conflict would be an ongoing debate that would last for another year, and will be discussed in the following chapters. Added to this already complex problem was the navy, which advocated the strict blockade, conflicted with the American government, which under pressure of merchants back home, pressed for the opening of ports. In the following year, the debate would gain in intensity as Otis was instructed to open more ports and increase trade.

The onset of hostilities brought a war that the United States did not want and was not prepared for. As time progressed, U.S. military forces adjusted to the situation at hand. Through the combined efforts of campaigning, blockading, and other operations, the army and navy achieved great success. But, on November 13, 1899, unbeknownst to American forces, Aguinaldo ordered the disbandment of the Army of Liberation and the shift to guerilla warfare. The army and navy would once again be forced to adapt as the situation changed in 1900.

III. THE HEMP EXPEDITION AND GUERILLA WARFARE (1900)

As the conventional army campaigns on Luzon came to a close in early 1900, the focus of American efforts in the Philippine Islands shifted. The new year saw the Filipino army evolve into a guerilla force throughout the archipelago, and the U.S. army was pushed by Washington to expand its presence throughout the islands and open up trade. On November 17, 1900, in his annual report to the President, Secretary of the Navy John D. Long, said: “The fleet on the Asiatic Station has cooperated with the army in the Philippines, transporting and convoying troops, patrolling a wide area of badly charted waters, sending out landing parties, and keeping the coast clear of the enemy. The small gunboats have been of great value in preventing the landing of arms for the insurgents and cutting off illicit trade with and among the islands”.²⁰⁷ The navy’s role in the Philippine Insurrection appeared to have changed little from the previous year, but its importance had actually grown.

U.S. forces in the Philippine Insurrection during the year 1900 were faced with four primary issues. First, the army was directed by Washington to open up trade within the islands and expand its presence; this required considerable resources to be diverted from the major theater of operation in Luzon. Second, the insurgents reverted to guerilla warfare and the army had to adjust from fighting conventional battles to counter-insurgency operations. Third, the navy had to maintain a strict blockade that became even more important as the army’s pacification efforts expanded. Lastly, hostilities broke out in China that required the attention of both the army and navy. To accomplish all these tasks both the army and navy saw changes in policy and organization during the year.

As politicians and the army struggled with the best approach to the Philippine Insurrection, the navy underwent a number of changes. With the ever increasing demands made upon the navy on the Asiatic Station, the force continued to be augmented with ships and men. On February 24, 1900, General Otis turned over to the navy the former

²⁰⁷ United States Navy Department, *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Year 1900* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1900), 3.

Spanish gunboats *Alava*, *Quiros*, and *Villalobos*.²⁰⁸ When Rear Admiral John C. Watson was relieved by Rear Admiral Geo C. Remey on April 19, 1900, as Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Naval Forces on the Asiatic Station, he reported that the principal operations of the navy had been in Philippine waters acting with the army against insurgents, transporting, convoying troops, bombarding, patrolling to prevent the landing of arms and illicit trading. In this work he claimed that the small gunboats were of the greatest value.²⁰⁹

Nine days later, Remey was given an assistant, Rear Admiral Louis Kempff, to insure rank and experience if the ships on station had to be divided between the Philippines and elsewhere. Almost immediately, circumstances within China made it necessary to maintain a separate force off China, so the Second-in-Command (Kempff) aboard his flagship, the cruiser *Newark*, was dispatched to Taku, China. Kempff was placed in command of all vessels of the station north of Hong Kong: *Monocacy*, *Nashville*, *Oregon*, and *Yorktown*.²¹⁰ For the year of 1900, it was the gunboats that accomplished the navy's task on the Asiatic Station within the Philippines by patrolling, supplying, communicating, interdicting illicit trade, convoying the army, and just about every imaginable task. The larger vessels, the monitors and cruisers, were relegated to menial tasking. Coming into 1900, it was aboard the navy gunboats that "All were enthusiastic for the new-strange adventures, so different from the peace routine of a large-man of war".²¹¹

A. THE HEMP EXPEDITION

On January 1, 1900, the ports in Luzon of Dagupan, Vigan, Aparri, Candon, San Fernando de la Union, Laoag, Currimoa, and Salamague were opened to trade.²¹² While commerce was returning to the Philippine Islands, it was not reviving at the speed desired by the U.S government. America wanted hemp. Hemp is a tough fiber used especially for

²⁰⁸ Arent S. Crowninshield, Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 26, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²⁰⁹ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, May 5, 1900; *ibid.*; Navy, *Annual Reports for 1900*, 544.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3. CINC Asiatic to Louis Kempff, Apr. 28, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²¹¹ Frederick L. Sawyer, *Sons of Gunboats* (Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Institute, 1946), 18.

²¹² J.C. Watson, "Fleet Circular Number 17", Jan. 1, 1900; SF IS; RG 45, NAB.

cordage, and Manila hemp or abaca was the considered the best in the world. But, four years of war and the navy's blockade had sent prices skyrocketing by 300 percent. American farmers and businessmen predicted a possible agricultural depression without sufficient hemp for twine and rope.²¹³

Sending urgent inquiries and expressing an anxiety about the hemp trade, Washington on January 9, 1900 sent messages to Major General Otis concerning opening up hemp ports. For two days Otis and the adjutant general debated about launching an expedition to open ports. The response from Otis was that he was unable to move troops to the hemp districts because of the lack of manpower, lack of coasting vessels which were busy supplying troops, and the U.S. transport ships had too great a draft to be useful.²¹⁴ Finally, Washington ordered Otis to occupy the "hemp ports" in the provinces of southeastern Luzon: Sorsogon, Albay, Camarines Norte and Camarines Sur, the Visayan islands of Leyte and Samar, and northern Mindanao (see Figure9). Otis begrudgingly responded that he would open the main hemp districts by the end of the month.²¹⁵

The hemp expedition was mounted with great haste and little preparation. Its success was due only to the cooperation of the army and navy. The army was led by recently promoted Brigadier General William A. Kobbé commanding the 43rd and 47th Infantry; the navy was represented by Commodore Raymond P. Rodgers who commanded the gunboats *Helena*, *Nashville*, and *Mariveles*. The expedition set sail from Manila on January 18, 1900. On January 20 the expedition arrived off Sorsogon, Bicol Peninsula, Luzon. As Kobbé's troops embarked into their landing boats, Kobbé requested that the *Helena*, *Mariveles*, and *Nashville* anchor close to shore to provide support in case of hostilities. Then, Kobbé and Colonel Howze (of the Gilmore rescue, page 45) went aboard the *Mariveles*, the shallowest draft vessel, to reconnoiter and select the landing place. Finding no resistance, the army landed at the port's wharf and took possession of

²¹³ Linn, 174.

²¹⁴ Corbin to Otis, Jan. 9, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1130-1131.

²¹⁵ Otis to Adjutant General of the War Department (AGWAR), Jan. 10, 1900, *ibid.*, 1131.

the town. On January 21, 1900, the *Nashville* and *Mariveles* took aboard a company of the 47th Infantry and transported the troops to nearby Bulan.



Figure 9. Hemp Expedition (After: <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/rp.html>)

After landing, the army took peaceful possession of the town. That same day the *Helena* embarked two companies and transported them to Donsol where they effected another peaceful landing of sorts. Upon their arrival, the *Helena* found trenches in front of the town filled with 200 to 300 insurgents; with the vessel's decks cleared for action

and all batteries aimed at the trenches, the army landed safely. The insurgents then “lined up in fine style” and fled.²¹⁶

Arriving off Legaspi on the morning of January 23, 1900, the main port of the Albay Province on Luzon, the expedition found some 200 riflemen and 400 bolomen defended by earthworks and firing pits. Bolomen are natives armed with an indigenous knife called a “bolo”; the bolo is a fifteen inch, heavy bladed, machete (see Figure10). The *Nashville* slowly cruised the waterfront reconnoitering the trenches and defenses. Extending from a point north of the northernmost wharfs to south of the southernmost wharf, the insurgents had constructed trenches and placed a field battery to the south. General Kobbé decided to land north of the insurgent lines, so the *Nashville* took position, and as the troops landed, the *Nashville* opened fire. Using a combination of shrapnel and shell, the *Nashville*’s 4-inch guns, 6-pdrs., 1-pdrs., and 6mm automatics poured effective and severe fire into the insurgent trenches. As American troops advanced, so did the *Nashville*, sweeping the trenches and enfilading streets and buildings at ranges from 400 to 700 yards. At the southernmost wharf the Filipinos attempted to make a stand, but between the cross fire from the army and navy, the insurgents were obliged to run. It was at this time that the insurgent field battery, three pieces, opened fire, but the *Nashville* quickly silenced them. It was later found that the *Nashville* had dismounted one of the guns with its fire. By early afternoon, the town of Legaspi was in U.S. possession as well as the neighboring towns of Albay and Daraga. In all, the *Nashville* had fired 176 rounds of 4-inch shells, 211 rounds of 6-pdr. shells, 132 rounds of 1-pdr, and 2750 rounds from her 6mm Colt automatic guns. The next day, January 24, 1900, the *Nashville* escorted troops to the port of Virac on the island of Catanduanes, and finding no signs of resistance, the town was taken peacefully by nightfall.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ Commander Edwin Moore to *Nashville*, Jan. 21, 1900, AF 10, RG 45, NAB.

²¹⁷ Raymond P. Rodgers to CINC Asiatic, Jan. 25, 1900, Strategy and Tactics, Operations of Naval Ships and Fleet Units, Subject File ON (SF ON), RG 45, NAB; James Alfred LeRoy, *The Americans in the Philippines: A History of the Conquest and First Years of Occupation with an Introductory Account of the Spanish Rule*, vol. 1 (New York; AMS Press, 1970), 169-170.



Figure 10. Bolo Knife (From: www.oriental-arms.co.il/OA/items/000198.html)

On January 26, 1900, Otis reported that Kobbé occupied the hemp ports of Sorsogon, Donsol, Bulan, Albay, and Legaspi in southeastern Luzon and Virac on the island of Catanduanes, and would probably occupy the ports of Calbayog, Catbalogan, and Tacloban on Samar and Leyte within days. He (Otis) reported that the only resistance encountered was at Legaspi, but troops landed safely under the protection of the navy's fierce bombardment of fortifications at close range. Upon occupation, these ports were found to contain great quantities of hemp ready for shipment and would be opened on January 30, 1900.²¹⁸

Regrouping back at Sorsogon, the expedition set off on January 25, 1900, for Calbayog on the island of Samar, with the *Nashville*, *Helena*, and *Mariveles* escorting the transports *Venus*, *Aeolus*, *Salvadoro*, *Castellano*, and *Mendez Nunez*. The expedition arrived at sunlight the following day off Calbayog, and the *Mariveles* stood in to shore with Kobbé to reconnoiter, while the *Nashville* and *Helena* approached the shore to within 1000 yards to cover the landing. Finding no signs of resistance, the signal to "land" was given, and the U.S. ensign was hoisted above the town by 8:30 that morning. On January 27, 1900, the expedition set sail for Catbalogan, Samar, and arrived after a few hours. Kobbé again boarded the *Mariveles* to reconnoiter the beach, but while close in, a white flag was displayed on the beach. Under a flag of truce, the insurgents informed the Americans that they would fight and also set fire to the town. As the

²¹⁸ Otis to AGWAR, Jan. 26, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1139.

Mariveles withdrew, the insurgents held to their word and started setting fires to buildings, buildings that were later learned to have been already drenched in petroleum. The signal to “land” was immediately given and the *Nashville* anchored 600 yards from shore to cover the landing. Once the Americans landed, the insurgents in position in the surrounding hills opened fire with field pieces and rifles, but the *Nashville*, *Helena*, and *Mariveles* returned fire and eventually the insurgent guns lay silent. The *Helena* silenced a battery using 4-inch common shells and 4-inch shrapnel shells, the army going in immediately after the last fall of shot to find the emplacement abandoned. Later that evening, a party of insurgents attempted to approach the town, but the *Nashville* fired several rounds of shrapnel and shell from her 4-inch gun and drove the insurgents off. Through the night, the *Nashville* and *Helena* used their search lights to sweep the hills, shores, and waters around Catbalogan.²¹⁹

On January 29, 1900, the *Nashville* continued at Catbalogan, landing stores and animals for the newly established garrison. The *Mariveles* was dispatched for the nearby port of Calbayog on Samar and to search the Surigao Straits between the islands (Leyte and Samar). Her (*Mariveles*) mission was to cut off any escape attempt by General Lukban, and then to proceed to San Pedre Bay, Leyte to await the arrival of the expedition. The *Helena* was ordered to remain at Catbalogan for a number of days as guard-ship, and aided the infantry stationed there by carrying a detachment to the mouth of the Gandara River in hopes of finding insurgents. The *Nashville* departed Catbalogan on January 30, 1900, with the transports *Garonne*, *Salvadoro*, and *Aeolus* for Tacloban on the island of Leyte. On February 1, 1900, the *Nashville* arrived off the port of Tacloban and rendezvoused with the *Mariveles*. Upon arrival, the expedition discovered 500 of insurgent General Mojicas' best fighters manning an elaborate array of trenches and defenses. As U.S. troops landed and began their advance, the insurgents opened fire. The *Mariveles* quickly opened fire with its Colt gun and main battery and the *Nashville* followed suit and opened up with its fore and aft 4-inch guns, firing shell and shrapnel into the enemy's position. Caught between the naval bombardment and the advancing

²¹⁹ Raymond P. Rodgers to CINC Asiatic, Jan. 29, 1900, Strategy and Tactics, SF ON, RG 45, NAB; Commander Moore to Commander Rodgers, Jan. 28, 1900. AF 10, RG 45, NAB.

troops, the insurgent force ran. This loss by the insurgents on Leyte facilitated the adoption of guerilla warfare on the island.²²⁰

Short of troops, Kobbé was ordered to concentrate his troops at the more important ports and permit trade. After leaving garrisons at all the hemp ports, Kobbé's expedition finished without taking the western Bicol province of Camarines and northern Mindanao.²²¹ On January 30, 1900, the ports of Virac, Sorsogon, Donsol, Bulan, Albay, Legaspi, Calbayog, Catbalogan, and Tacloban were all declared open for trade. Two days later the ports of Batangas and Taal in southern Luzon were opened. The opening of these ports signified the return of trade to the most important hemp ports in the Philippines. From January 30, 1900, to February 14, 1900, eight more ports in Samar and Leyte were opened for trade. By February 15, 1900, Kobbé occupied southeastern Luzon, from Tabaco in the north to Donsol in the south, along with all the important ports of the islands of Catanduanes, Samar, and Leyte. All coasting vessels were engaged in transporting merchandise and products.²²² Thirty merchants engaged in transporting hemp to Cebu and Manila.²²³ By March 1, 1900, 13,000 tons of hemp and 70,000 bales of tobacco had been collected in Manila since opening island ports.²²⁴

The Military Governor, Otis, was the one who declared the ports open, and transmitted the opening through the CINC Asiatic to naval vessels. The ports of Nueva Caceres and Pasacao on Luzon were opened for coastal trade on February 28, 1900. On March 2, 1900, the ports of Lemer, Luzon, and Calivo, on Panay were opened to trade. The ports of Bongao on Bongao, Mati on Mindanao, Balamban and Danao on Cebu were opened for trade on March 13, 1900.²²⁵ On March 17, 1900 the port of Carigara-Garugo,

²²⁰ Nashville to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 2, 1900, Strategy and Tactics, SF ON, RG 45, NAB.. Reynaldo H. Imperial, *Leyte, 1898-1902: The Philippine-American War* (Quezon City, PI: University of the Philippines, 1996), 55, 91-93.

²²¹ Linn, 177-178.

²²² Otis to AGWAR, Feb. 15, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1144.

²²³ Otis to AGWAR, Feb. 3, 1900, *ibid.*, 1141.

²²⁴ Otis to AGWAR, Mar. 1, 1900, *ibid.*, 1147.

²²⁵ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet Circular Number 33", Mar. 22, 1900; SF IS; RG 45; NAB.

Leyte was likewise opened.²²⁶ The port of Isabella on the island of Basilan was opened for coastal trading on April 1, 1900.²²⁷ The gunboat *Bennington*, with the senior officer present afloat in Cebu, reported that Kobbé had recently returned from opening 18 ports, with such rapidity, that the *Bennington* had to issue station orders to commanding officers to exercise discretion and honor the signatures of army officers at ports when overhauling vessels, as sometimes notification of port openings was delayed.²²⁸

As soon as a hemp port fell into American possession, Otis declared it open. Merchants then converged on the ports and soon bought up all the hemp in the towns, and then petitioned the army to push troops into the countryside and to open new ports. Already stretched small detachments sent out patrols to protect hemp gatherers and convoys. These merchants were already paying the guerillas to protect their fields and workers, and it was discovered by the army that the insurgents were also collecting taxes on hemp going through the ports or being smuggled. Removing the restrictions on coastal trade inadvertently assisted illicit traffic. Far from cutting off the illicit hemp trade and revolutionary funds, the opening of the hemp ports may have increased them.²²⁹ While a brisk trade emerged, water communication also allowed insurgent communications between Luzon and the southern Islands and insurgents and other disaffected Filipinos driven from Luzon to relocate.²³⁰

B. GUERILLA WARFARE AND PACIFICATION

Back on November 13, 1899, Aguinaldo had instructed his principal officers to resort to guerilla warfare.²³¹ As Filipino forces throughout the archipelago received the word and experienced the last conventional defeats in early 1900, during the Cavite Campaign and Hemp Expedition, the shift to guerilla warfare took effect. The dazzling conventional military victories, experienced by the Americans, were no longer attainable;

²²⁶ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet Circular Number 30", Mar. 2, 1900; *ibid.*; CINC Asiatic, "Fleet Circular Number 31", Mar. 17, 1900; *idem.*

²²⁷ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet Circular Number 37", Apr. 12, 1900; *ibid.*

²²⁸ *Bennington* to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 6, 1900, AF 10, RG 45, NAB.

²²⁹ Linn, 179.

²³⁰ Taylor, 2: 267-268.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 2: 259, 261.

there would be few opportunities for glory in guerilla warfare.²³² With Aguinaldo's escape into northeastern Luzon, he spent until September 1900, eluding patrols, securing food, and seeking shelter. While he did finally establish a permanent headquarters at the remote village of Palanan, he was isolated and unable to exercise control of the insurgency. Aguinaldo became a symbolic importance instead of a military one. The effect was that the local political-military leaders, such as Martin Delgado on Iloilo, Vicente Lukban on Samar, and Moxica on Leyte, carried on the struggle in what became a series of complex regional guerilla conflicts.²³³ The objective of the insurgents was not to vanquish the U.S. army, but to inflict constant casualties and discourage American efforts. In essence, the insurgents adopted a strategy of attrition.²³⁴

Otis assumed that the insurgent resistance stemmed entirely from ethnic Tagalogs. The decision to launch the Hemp Expedition in early 1900 was seen to take away precious resources and manpower from the strategic areas of Luzon. Scattered garrisons, with no reinforcements, presented major risks to the army. MacArthur, who relieved Otis on May 4, 1900, also believed that Luzon should have been pacified first and then the rest of the archipelago. ²³⁵ The decision to divert focus outside of Luzon (Hemp Expedition) turned the entire archipelago into a battlefield. In a report to the adjutant general on April 10, 1900, Otis reported that insurgent forces that fled into northern Luzon in November had scattered and were operating with ladrones (bandits) and mountain tribes. The guerillas and landrones were often fighting each other and only attacking to rob and murder peaceable citizens, or very small army detachments. The army had assumed the role of protecting smaller towns.²³⁶ During the first 6 months of guerilla warfare, Otis focused on civic action for the army's pacification program. He believed that Filipinos would welcome the benefits of American rule: law, education, peace, trade, and

²³² Linn, 181.

²³³ Ibid., 185-186.

²³⁴ Ibid., 187.

²³⁵ Otis to AGWAR, May 3, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1164; Corbin to MacArthur, May 4, 1900, *idem*, 1164.

²³⁶ Otis to AGWAR, Apr. 10, 1900, *ibid.*, 1159.

municipal government.²³⁷ While the policy of appeasement was also advocated by the Philippine Commission, under William H. Taft, the policy was negated in many ways by the presidential election race of 1900 between President William McKinley and William J. Bryan. In hopes of influencing the election and winning independences should Bryan win, the insurgents saw a reason to continue the armed struggle.²³⁸

While the disbandment of the insurgent field armies had been followed by a considerable period of inactivity; this lull only covered the time necessary for the insurgents to prepare for the new method of warfare and to organize for resistance by means of a general banding of the people in support of the guerrillas in the field.²³⁹ As the United States sought a policy and strategy that would win the conflict, the insurgents faced an equally perplexing problem in that while the insurgents could abandon the coastal towns and take to the mountains, the resistance needed the townspeople and merchants of the coast who dominated the revolutionary committees. These town elite depended upon foreign trade and were hurt by the navy's blockade of abaca shipments and slowly realized that the Philippine Republic could not protect their interests. Aguinaldo and the central insurgent government further complicated the matter by only appointing Tagalog political-military leaders. The ethnic divide often created problems outside Luzon as the insurgents demanded food, money, and recruits for the insurrection from the local populace, and in return offered few troops or arms.²⁴⁰ The year of 1900 became the year that both the U.S. and the insurgents sought how best to "win the hearts and minds" of the populace.

The insurgent revolutionary organization consisted of regulars and militia troops arranged along territorial/provincial lines. The regular troops seldom numbered more than a few hundred in any province, and consisted of groups of 10 to 60 riflemen and an equal number of bolomen. The bands of regulars would roam and holed up in barrios or in the mountains. The insurgent militia consisted of all males of military age within

²³⁷ Linn, 200-206.

²³⁸ Sawyer, 38-39.

²³⁹ Taylor, 2: 275.

²⁴⁰ Linn, 175.

towns, villages, and barrios, they were armed with spears and bolos. While they (militia) remained in the towns, they provided security, built fortifications, collected taxes, and intimidated or eliminated collaborators. These two forces (regulars and militia) would combine to attack isolated American patrols and garrisons, logistical lines, and communications.²⁴¹

Like most guerilla wars, the insurgent logistical base was at the front. Neighboring pueblos contributed to the maintenance of the insurgent army, exacting and collecting contributions, supplies, and recruiting men, and offering secure places of refuge.²⁴² Food and stores were collected in the towns and then transported in carts or by porters to camps and supply dumps.²⁴³ The guerillas' relationship with the population was a source of strength and weakness. Dependent upon the population for shelter and supplies, if these were not given willingly, the insurgents would take them by force, becoming a burden if not menace on the locals. The local elite, who led the resistance in the towns, often found the cost of war too high to bear, theirs was the land sequestered, taxed by both sides (Americans and insurgents), and their families and fortunes were at the greatest risk.²⁴⁴

While guerilla operations occurred on Luzon in the Southern Tagalog Region with insurgent General Miguel Malvar, the primary focus for 1900 would be in combating the insurgents in the southern Islands. As mentioned earlier, the army's primary fear that guerilla warfare would erupt throughout the archipelago was realized in 1900. On January 16, 1900, General Arcadio Maxilom, insurgent commander on Cebu, received Aguinaldo's order to adopt guerilla tactics.²⁴⁵ Insurgent General Ambrosio Mojica arrived on February 14, 1899, on the island of Leyte and took over as commander of insurgent forces from insurgent general Vincente Lukban, who remained in command of the Island of Samar. On March 2, 1900, Mojica received word from Aguinaldo to start

²⁴¹ Ibid., 187-188.

²⁴² Taylor, 2: 276-277.

²⁴³ Linn, 192.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 197.

²⁴⁵ Resil B. Mojares, *The War Against the Americans: Resistance and Collaboration I Cebu: 1899-1906* (Manila: Ateneo De Manila University Press, 1999), 55.

guerilla warfare. He developed a system using units of 10-20 men to harass enemy American forces by waiting in ambush until within 40 meters, opening fire, and then running.²⁴⁶ Mojica divided Leyte into four insurgent military districts, protected by four infantry companies, three artillery companies, and an assortment of bolomen, and began waging guerilla warfare.²⁴⁷

The American opinion on how to wage war against the insurgents varied. Brigadier General Samuel B.M. Young signified the growing unrest of subordinates over the lack of military use when he advocated the use of “remedial measures that proved successful with the Apaches.” Many officers felt that if the punishment authorized suspension of civil rights, trial by provost court, confiscation, deportation, property destruction, and summary execution, the war would be over in a few months. At the heart of the matter was General Order No. 100, “Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field”, also known as the Lieber Code, which was issued by President Abraham Lincoln on April 24, 1863, to govern the army during times of war and dealt with operations among a hostile population.²⁴⁸ The humanitarian aspects of General Order 100 had been in effect since the arrival of the first expedition, but by June 1900, the Judge Advocate justified the application of all of G.O. 100 when it ruled that “martial law applies throughout the archipelago”, but neither Otis nor MacArthur (initially) authorized the enforcement of the order in their entirety.²⁴⁹

The American leadership thought it better to wait and let the cruelty of the guerrillas and their allies, the ladrones, drive the masses into the arms of the Americans. When the resources of the country were exhausted, the guerrillas still demanded their tribute in men, money, and supplies; when not given, they used force, punishment, and terror.²⁵⁰ For the insurgents to be successful, they required the unwearied support of the

²⁴⁶ Imperial, 101.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., 3-4, 51, 68.

²⁴⁸ Abraham Lincoln, “General Order No. 100: Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field”, Apr. 24, 1863, Available [Online] http://lawofwar.org/general_order_100.htm [Nov. 4, 2004].

²⁴⁹ Linn, 211

²⁵⁰ Taylor, 2: 278.

entire population, but the unrelenting pursuit of the guerrillas by the Americans forced them in their necessity to make ever increasing demands upon the exhausted people. The distinction between the insurgents and bandits of the hills grew less, but support of the insurgents among the barrios and towns was not totally eradicated.²⁵¹ While Washington, Otis, and MacArthur (at first) pursued a policy of “benevolent assimilation”, what eventually emerged was something quite different. Stricter measures were taken towards the native population that included coercing the populace to reside within the garrisoned towns and central trading ports. This program of pacification sought to isolate the people from the insurgents, a policy practiced most notably by Brigadier General Hughes as one of “concentration”, a policy that the navy assisted with.²⁵² While this policy was not officially adopted by the senior leadership in Manila until MacArthur, in December 1900, its practice and those of the stricter measures of G.O. 100 were being employed throughout the archipelago for much of 1900. The first step was to keep the guerillas on the run.

On January 9, 1900, General Hughes, district commander, informed the *Concord*, station ship at Iloilo, Panay, that intelligence had been received that 2,000 insurgent troops were massing near San Jose de Buena Vista, in the province of Antique, Panay, and was getting ready to sail on the steamer *Isabel*. The *Pampanga* was immediately dispatched to prevent the *Isabel*, a steamer already known about from the gunboat *Samar* which had seen and fired upon here several months earlier, from departing. An expedition was at once launched, and on January 13, 1900, the army land component set off (see Figure11). On January 16, 1900, the gunboats *Concord* and *El Cano* transported General Hughes, his staff, and a battalion of the 19th Infantry to San Joaquin where they were landed. The next day, as the army crossed the mountains, the *Concord* and *Pampanga* steamed up the coast to arrive off Antique before midnight. The town of San Jose de Buena Vista, the former seat of the insurgent government in the province of Antique was three miles north of the town of Antique. It was here that the insurgents expected to make

²⁵¹ Ibid., 2: 408.

²⁵² Imperial, 95;United States Congress, Senate, Committee on the Philippines, *Affairs in the Philippine Islands, Hearings Before the Committee on the Philippines of the U.S. Senate*, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 1902, S. Doc. 331, Part III (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902), 675-676.

a stand against the advancing American troops coming from the San Joaquin Mountains, near the coast from the south.

As U.S. troops marched directly toward the unseen insurgent trenches, the *Concord* directed several shots from her 6-pdr. to warn the American troops of danger. The army at once initiated cheers and then came under brisk fire from the insurgents.

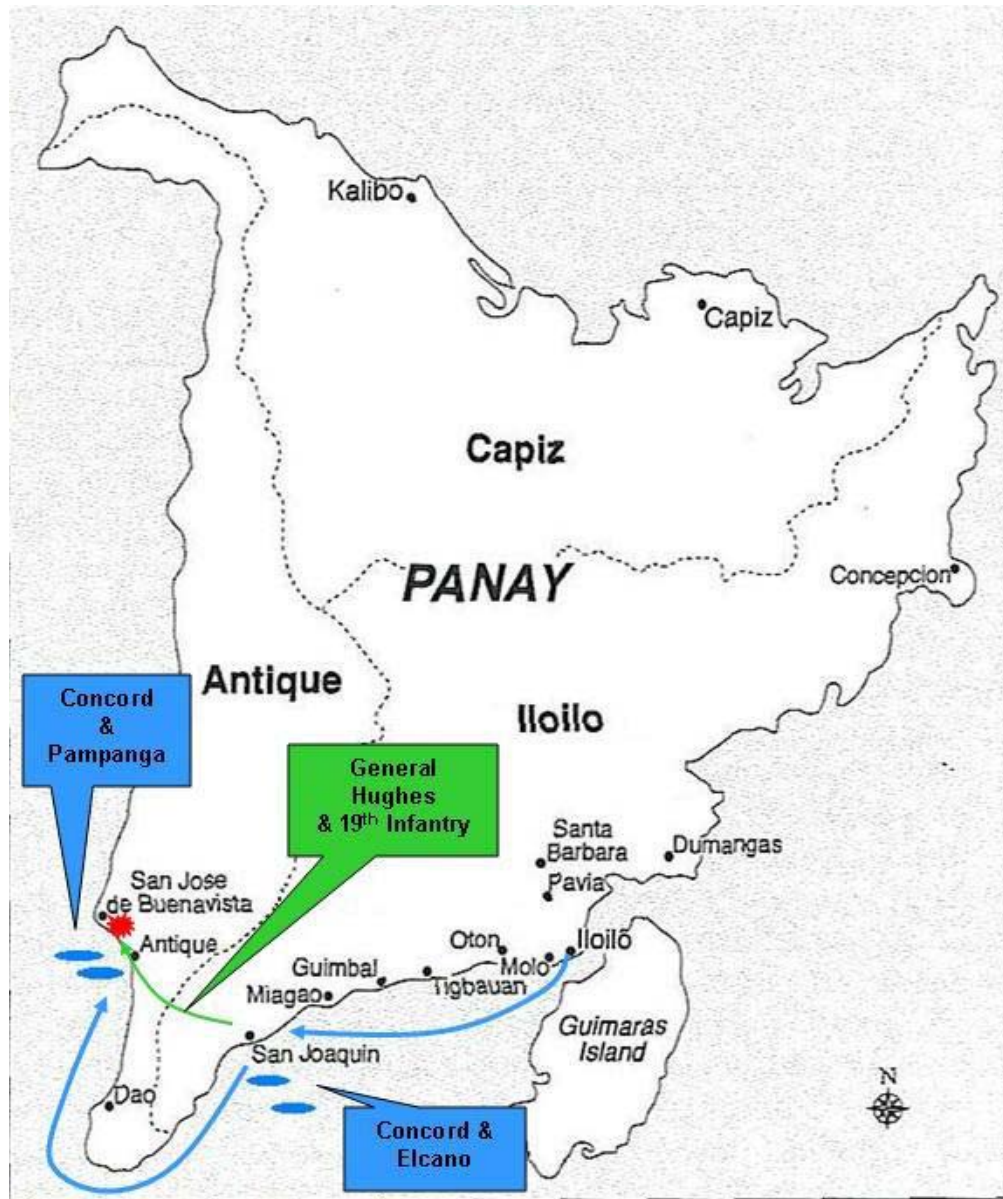


Figure 11. Operations on Panay (After: Linn, *The Philippine War*, 242)

As America troops took cover and disappeared from sight, the insurgents turned their fire solely upon the Pampanga, placing the vessel under “very hot fire”²⁵³ After some time, Pampanga’s Colt gun jammed and the 37mm machine gun ran out of ammunition, leaving only one 6-pdr. to fire. The Concord then closed in as far as she could and opened up with her 6-inch shrapnel, silencing the insurgents who could be seen retreating. Moving up towards the next town of San Jose, the Concord found the village empty except for several insurgent signal stations on top of a hill in back of the town. A volley of well placed 6-inch shells was enough to drive them out, and the ship landed a battalion of bluejackets to occupy the town until the army arrived. The following morning the Concord ascended the nearby river and found the insurgent steamer Isabel. Since she had been discovered previously by the Samar, the insurgents had moved her further up river, cut off her masts, and camouflaged her with palm leaves. The Pampanga would tow the Isabel to Iloilo within the week and turn her over to the army for use transporting supplies to the numerous small ports where troops were stationed.²⁵⁴

In the southernmost reaches of the Philippines, on January 14, 1900, Admiral Watson informed the Yorktown, the senior officer at Mindanao, that all Mindanao was under his cognizant and ordered to patrol the entire island. On January 29, 1900, Major General Bates, commanding the Military District of Mindanao and Jolo, requested the navy’s cooperation in the army’s upcoming expedition to occupy Surigao, Cagayan, Iligan, and Dapitan, on Mindanao. On January 31, 1900, the gunboat Marietta was ordered to escort the army expedition under Major General J.C. Bates to the north coast of Mindanao.²⁵⁵ But while the expedition was delayed for several weeks, the gunboat Manila visited the town of Dapitan and ascertained that the port was free of insurgents, and the natives were actually requesting American occupation.²⁵⁶

On February 12, 1900, the gunboat Albay arrived at Zamboanga from Cotta-Bato on the Island of Basilan, south of Mindanao. The Albay reported that the colonel

²⁵³ *Concord* to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 6, 1900, Strategy and Tactics, SF ON, RG 45, NAB.

²⁵⁴ *Concord* to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 6, 1900; *ibid.*

²⁵⁵ *Marietta* to CINC Asiatic, Jan. 31, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²⁵⁶ *Yorktown* to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 14, 1900; *ibid.*

commanding the district requested the immediate dispatch of a vessel to look after a raiding party of 300 Moros that was said to have left Sulu for Basilan. While at Cotta-Bato, it was also the opinion of the army that “visits of the gunboats have had a most important and salutary effect”. With Cotta-Bato harboring some unrest, the necessity for keeping a gunboat in the vicinity appeared to be imperative. The power of the gunboats both for protection and offensive was highly regarded by the natives in the southern Philippines. In his report, the senior officer, Yorktown, acknowledged that it would be more convenient to patrol the north coast of Mindanao from Cebu, but it was a matter of much importance to the Military Commandant to have the naval headquarters for the district at the same place as his own, Zamboanga. Information contained from naval patrol was always placed at the disposition of the military authorities, and the vessels played the most important part of the means of communication between posts.²⁵⁷

As discussed earlier (see pages 92-99), the Hemp Expedition fell short in occupying ports in southern Luzon and northern Mindanao. It thus fell upon Major General Bates to lead troops against the guerillas in Camarines (Sur and Norte) and northern Mindanao. Insurgent troops had fled from the Cavite Campaign and taken refuge in the Camarines. On February 15, 1900, the gunboat *Marietta* transported Major General Bates and his staff, and escorted the transports *Athenian*, *Venus*, *Salvadora*, and *Castellano* from Manila to Legaspi. The expedition arrived in the Gulf of Albay on February 17, 1900, and while the transports anchored, Bates aboard the gunboat *Marietta*, proceeded to the port of Legaspi. After communicating with the garrison commander, the expedition set off for San Miguel Bay and arrived on February 20, 1900, anchoring off the mouth of the Bicol River. ²⁵⁸ Two places on opposite sides of the Bicol River were selected for landing: Barcelona and a place designated “Marietta Landing”. Using boats manned by men detailed from the *Marietta*, the navy landed the army at the two landings. While the landing at Barcelona was without opposition, the Marietta Landing encountered some opposition, but suffered no casualties and the insurgents were easily repulsed. On February 21, 1900, the gunboat *Paragua* arrived and in cooperation with

²⁵⁷ *Yorktown* to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 14, 1900; *ibid*.

²⁵⁸ General Bates to Adjutant General, Dept of the Pacific and 8th army Corps, Mar. 1, 1900, Strategy and Tactics, SF ON, RG 45, NAB.

Bates, the small gunboat proceeded up the Bicol River to assist in transporting troops and supplies for the army. Fording up the Bicol River to the capital of Nueva Caceres, the army was greatly aided by the gunboat's efforts, and took the capital on the 22nd.²⁵⁹ On February 23, 1900, the town of Libmanan was taken. The navy gunboats assisted in the following days with unloading and the movement of troops.²⁶⁰ As the expedition continued on into March, the gunboats assisted in landings in Norte Camarines near Daot and Mambulao.²⁶¹ In his report on March 5, 1900, General Bates claimed that the navy rendered valuable aid in landing troops and supplies.²⁶² Having concluded his expedition to the southern Luzon provinces, Bates returned to Manila before departing for the second half of his mission in northern Mindanao.

Bates' expedition next proceeded to occupy Surigao, Kagayan, Iligan, Misamis, and Dapitan, on the north coast of Mindanao. The *Yorktown*, station ship at Zamboanga, Mindanao, departed on March 25, 1900 to rendezvous and assist the expedition.²⁶³ On March 20, 1900, the *Manila* departed Manila with Bates and his staff. The party proceeded to Pasakao and then Bulan in Southeastern Luzon to communicate with the army garrison commanders and then to Legaspi to rendezvous with four transports to take the troops to northern Mindanao. On March 25, 1900, the expedition reached the northeast end of Mindanao and anchored off the port of Surigao. One company was landed to a friendly reception and on the 28th of March the expedition left for Cagayan, reaching that port on the 29th. Once again, no shot was fired and Cagayan was easily taken. The *Yorktown*, having joined on the 28th took position off the landing wharf and directed her guns to command the approaches of the landing while the *Manila* took position near the mouth of a river, on the banks of which the first landing was made. The gunboat *Panay* joined the action at this time and took station next to the *Yorktown*. The expedition next arrived at Iligan on March 31, 1900, and landed a battalion. On the

²⁵⁹ Linn, 178-179.

²⁶⁰ *Marietta* to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 1, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²⁶¹ Major General Bates to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 9, 1900; *ibid.*; *Paragua* to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 6, 1900; *idem.*

²⁶² Otis to AGWAR, Mar. 5, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1148.

²⁶³ Commander C.S. Sperry, *Yorktown*, Senior Officer Present, to *Callao*, Mar. 25, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

morning of April 1, 1900, the *Manila*, *Callao*, and *Panay* crossed the bay and landed two companies at the town of Misamis. Without a shot the American flag was hoisted above the fort. In the meantime, the *Yorktown* transported troops to occupy the town of Dapitan. On April 2, 1900, the remaining gunboats proceeded to the town of Oroquieta.²⁶⁴

On April 9, 1900, Bates returned from the Department Mindanao and Jolo region, where, attended by naval gunboats, he had occupied the important points, a total of eleven in Mindanao and three in Jolo.²⁶⁵ In appreciation for the navy's assistance in his expedition, Bates wrote nothing but praise for the navy's role in establishing garrisons in Northern Mindanao. While commenting on the *Yorktown*, *Manila*, *Callao*, and *Panay*, Bates singled out the effort of Captain Sperry of the *Yorktown* in joining the expedition from Zamboanga and ordering the inclusion of the *Callao*. He praised Captain Nazro of the *Manila* for the courtesy of headquartering the General on board and for taking charge of the fleet of transports.²⁶⁶

With the vast majority of the important points within the archipelago occupied by American troops, the need for better organization was once again raised (see pages 56-62). On March 26, 1900, Adjutant General, Henry C. Corbin inquired of Otis concerning the division of the military within the Philippines and the announcement of the lines of the departments and department commanders.²⁶⁷ In response on March 27, 1900, Otis recommended the establishment of four departments (see Figure 12). First was the Department of Northern Luzon to be commanded by Major General Arthur MacArthur. Second was the Department of Southern Luzon to be commanded by Major General John C. Bates. The third was the Department of the Visayas to be commanded by Brigadier General Robert P. Hughes. The fourth was the Department of Mindanao and Jolo to be commanded by Brigadier General William A. Kobbé Jr.²⁶⁸ On March 29, 1900, General Order No. 38 was issued by the War Department under direction of the President. The

²⁶⁴ *Manila* to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 30, 1900; idem.

²⁶⁵ Otis to AGWAR, Apr. 9, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1158.

²⁶⁶ Major General Bates to CINC Asiatic, Apr. 17, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²⁶⁷ Corbin to Otis, Mar. 26, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1153.

²⁶⁸ Otis to AGWAR, Mar. 27, 1900, idem., 1154.

Department of the Pacific was discontinued and the Division of the Philippines was established, commanded by Otis, with the authority of military governor, and creating the departments as prescribed by Otis.²⁶⁹

When MacArthur took over from Otis in May 1900, he inherited an unbalanced pacification program. The civic action component was working, but the military side of pacification was degenerating: casualties and engagements had increased. With the coming election between presidential candidate William J. Bryan and incumbent President William McKinley, the approaching summer monsoon season, forces stretched thin, and the hostilities growing with the Boxer Rebellion that would erupt in June (to be discussed later), little could be done until fall.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ AGWAR to Otis, Mar. 29, 1900, *idem.*, 1154-1155.

²⁷⁰ Linn, 208-211.

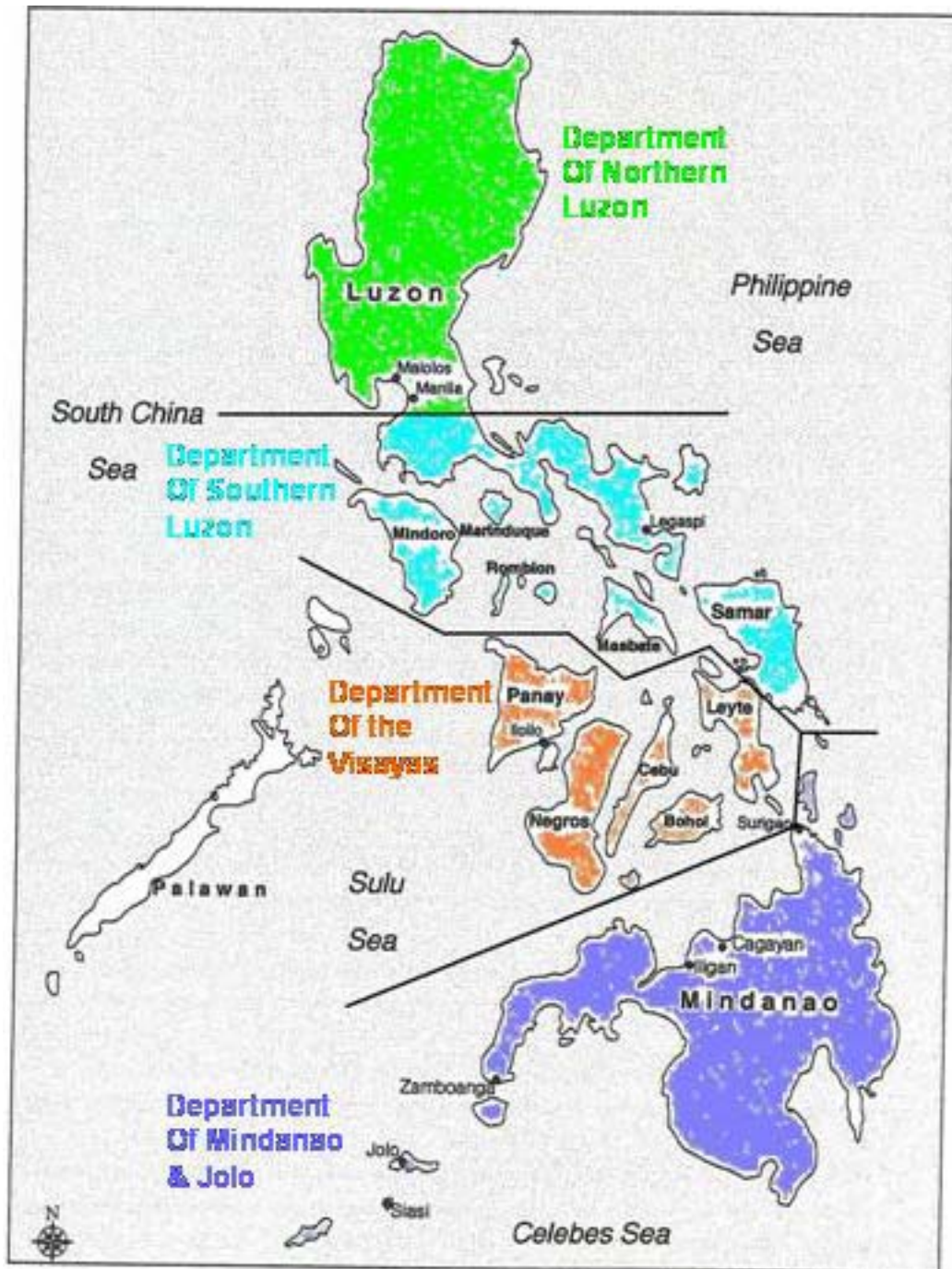


Figure 12. U.S. Army Departments (After: Linn, *The Philippine War*, 4)

On June 21, 1900, General MacArthur, after obtaining permission from the President and Secretary of War, issued amnesty to all insurgents, in hopes of expediting

pacification.²⁷¹ But while peaceful methods to end the insurgency continued, the army elsewhere continued in its relentless pursuit of the enemy.

On June 12, 1900, the gunboat *Pampanga* assisted the army garrison at Catbalogan, Samar. The garrison, harassed for over a week by insurgents from the surrounding hills, was unable to permanently dislodge the insurgents. Upon the *Pampanga*'s arrival, the gunboat directed shots that dislodged the insurgents so effectively that they ceased to cause any more trouble. The gunboat also aided in providing men and machine guns for expeditions to Santa Marguarita, Silanga, and Carayman, in which the vessel also provided transportation to the army. The gunboat's mere presence in the harbor ensured that outposts were not annoyed at night, and the troops were finally able to get some much needed sleep.²⁷² Major J.C. Gilmore, Jr., of the 43rd Infantry at Calbayok, Samar, wrote to the gunboat *Pampanga* requesting that the vessel stay until affairs had quieted down, a gunboat was needed in the waters.²⁷³

In the monthly report from Iloilo, the *Helena* reported on June 26, 1900, that local disturbances had necessitated Brigadier General R.P. Hughes to request that the vessel remain anchored off Iloilo for the entire time. The gunboat *Paragua* cruised off the west coast of Panay for eight days, destroying three vessels engaged in illicit trade. But, while the insurgents were acting aggressively on Panay, as a rule they remained far back from the coast so the navy could not reach them.²⁷⁴

On July 11, 1900, the *Pampanga* and *Panay* shelled insurgent trenches, beaches, and hills occupied by the enemy around Calbayog, Samar. The following day a small army detachment sent south came under fire and the *Panay* and *Pampanga* cruised along the shore firing 6-pdrs. and 1-pdrs. at a range of 1600 yards as U.S. forces drove back the

²⁷¹ MacArthur to AGWAR, Jun. 9, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1177-1178.

²⁷² Major J.C. Gilmore to Captain F.R. Payne, Jun. 28, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²⁷³ J.C. Gilmore to F.R. Payne, Jun. 18, 1900, *ibid*.

²⁷⁴ *Helena* to CINC Asiatic, Jun. 26, 1900, *ibid*.

insurgents.²⁷⁵ On July 15, 1900, the gunboats again provided naval gunfire support to other army outposts on Samar under fire from insurgents.²⁷⁶

On July 26, 1900, Major Hannay of the 3rd Infantry, reporting from San Fernando, northern Luzon, made the suggestion that “to clean the swamp area of robbers, pirates, and insurgents the method best to be employed should be to destroy all isolated huts and houses, all small barrios not in direct communication with the pueblos. Remove large barrios or convert them into pueblos with a strong military detachment. Limit all passage by water to certain principal rivers and allow no native watercraft on other rivers or creeks”. The idea was endorsed up through the commanding officer of the 3rd infantry, brigadier general commanding 5th district of northern Luzon, and Major General Wheaton in charge of the department of northern Luzon. He (Hannay) also suggested the need for small vessels to ply waters and enforce the policy. This suggestion was a clear example for the desire of the “concentration” policy.²⁷⁷

As expressed earlier, it was the gunboats that were actually combating the insurgent guerillas. As the army with greater and greater frequency in 1900 began to pursue the insurgents, it was the navy which provided the mobility to the army in an environment of dense jungles and high-mountain ranges. As the army sought to break the bond between the insurgents and the populace, it was the navy that enforced a tighter and tighter blockade that hampered insurgent communications, supplies, and movement. The monthly “Report of Distribution and Employment of Vessels” on the Asiatic Station for August 1900, demonstrates that these missions were being accomplished by the navy’s gunboats. The vessels of the Asiatic station during August were employed in two major tasks: in the Philippines, “Patrolling to prevent illicit trading, operating against Filipino insurgents, and cooperating with the army,” or in China, “for protection of American and Foreign interests”. Of the thirty-two warships, not counting auxiliaries, twenty-five were gunboats (*Bennington, Concord, Isla de Cuba, Helena, Isla de Luzon, Manila, Marietta,*

²⁷⁵ Panay to CINC Asiatic, Jul. 16, 1900; *ibid.*

²⁷⁶ Sawyer, 48.

²⁷⁷ Major Hannay to Adjutant 3rd Infantry, Jul. 26, 1900, Records of Other Units, Entry 5765, Records of United States Army Overseas Operations and Commands, 1898-1942, Record Group 395 (RG 395), NAB.

Arayat, Callao, Manileno, Pampanga, Panay, Paragua, Quiros, Samar, Villalobos, General Alava, Basco, Leyte, Urdaneta, Don Juan de Austria, Castine, Monocacy, Princeton, and Yorktown), all of which were employed. Of the seven larger combatants, monitors, cruisers and battleship, three were undergoing repairs (*Newark, Monterey, Oregon*), and one was operating with a reduced crew (*Monadnock*). Seven of the thirty-two warships were stationed in China with the others (twenty-two), excluding those under repair, stationed in the Philippines.²⁷⁸

September 1900 was a bad month for American forces in the Philippines as the guerilla war gained strength. While U.S. forces were engaged throughout the archipelago battling the insurgency, three episodes erupted that served as telling reminders that the insurgency was far from being defeated.

On September 11, 1900, Company F of the 29th Infantry was landed by the gunboat *Villalobos* at Torrijos intending to march overland to Santa Cruz. Communications were lost, and the party was captured by insurgents (see Figure 13). The *Yorktown* and two other gunboats were dispatched with an army rescue party.²⁷⁹ On September 26, the *Yorktown* escorted the 38th Infantry, under Colonel G.S. Anderson from Batangas, southern Luzon to Santa Cruz, Marinduque. Arriving on the morning of the 26th, the expedition was joined by the gunboat *Villalobos*. Finding the landing in very shoal water and some distance from the anchorage, the army troops embarked in the gunboats' boats for the landing. While landing, a signal that the party was receiving fire was given, a gig, armed with a Colt automatic was sent to provide assistance under the command of Ensign A. MacArthur, Jr., but the landing occurred unopposed. The following day the gunboat *Quiros* arrived, and the gunboats continued to assist in protecting the army and transporting it to the town of Torrijos, but the prisoners were not found.²⁸⁰ The rescue attempt failed, but with the assistance of the navy, General Hare led 12 companies to suppress the insurrection on the island.²⁸¹

²⁷⁸ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Aug. 1900; SF OO; RG45; NAB.

²⁷⁹ MacArthur to AGWAR, Sep. 28, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1214.

²⁸⁰ *Yorktown* to CINC Asiatic, Sep. 27, 1900, AF 10, RG 45, NAB.

²⁸¹ MacArthur to AGWAR, Oct. 4, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1216.

It would not be until October 11, 1900, when the *Bennington* received word that the army prisoners, taken the previous month on Marinduque, were being held at a hacienda near Buena Vista, that the prisoners would be rescued. The gunboats *Bennington*, *Villalobos* and the transport *Venus* proceeded to Buena Vista on October 14, 1900. Arriving off Buena Vista, the release of the prisoners was subsequently arranged with the insurgent leader, and Captain Devereaux Shields and forty-nine men were released to the navy.²⁸²

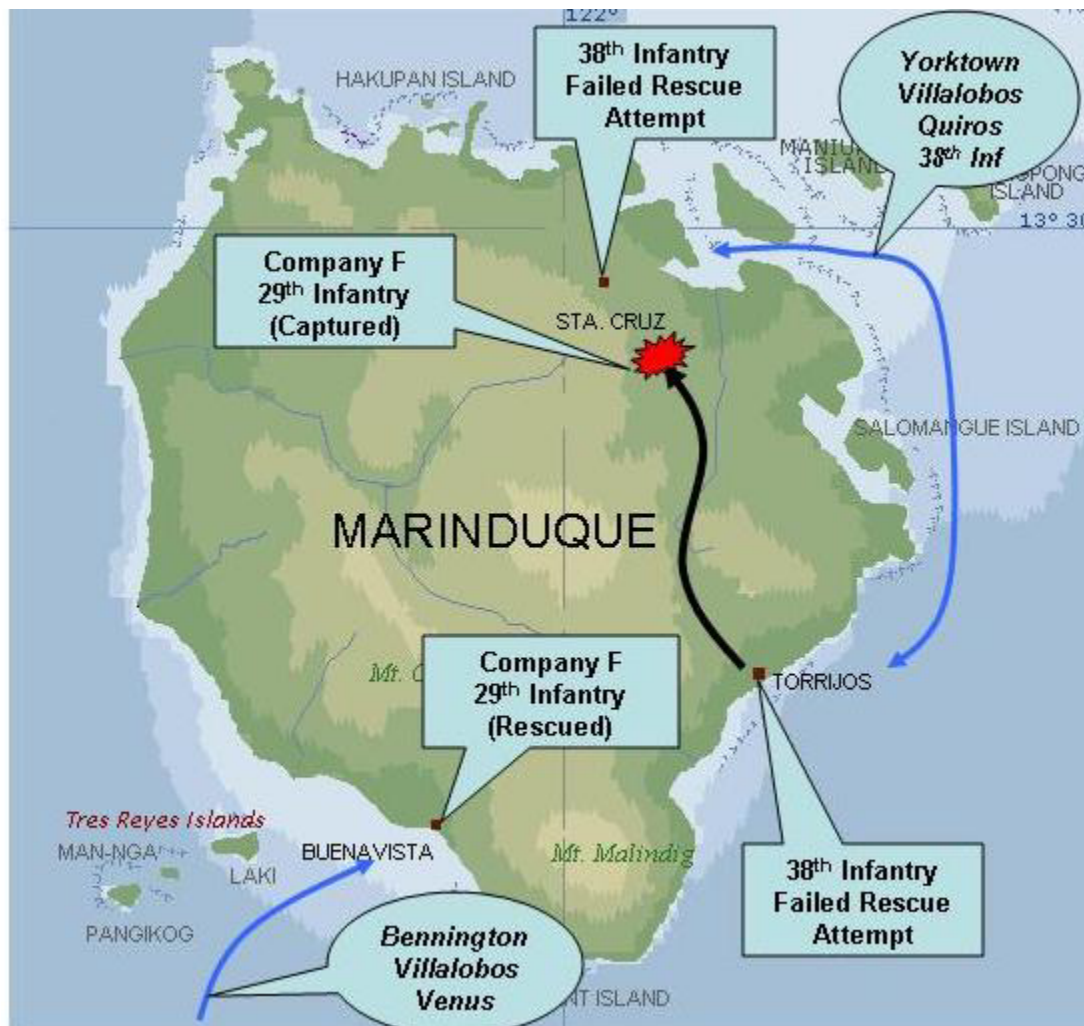


Figure 13. Operations on Marinduque (After: <http://marinduque.net/around.htm>)

²⁸² *Bennington* to CINC Asiatic, Oct. 18, 1900, AF 10, RG 45, NAB.

Back in the middle of March, 1900, with progress being made on the islands of Panay, Negros, and Cebu, district commander Hughes occupied the island of Bohol on March 17, 1900, without opposition.²⁸³ But as insurgents were defeated on the larger islands (Cebu), they moved to Bohol. Hostilities broke out on September 1, 1900. The army's meager garrisons in various ports came under peril of imminent attack and required urgent reinforcements. The army requested that a gunboat be sent to patrol the coast from Tublgon to Talibon, the army also desired to use the gunboat to transport troops along the coast to conduct expeditions against the insurgents. The gunboat *Panay* crossed through uncharted waters to re-supply garrisons at Tubigon, Laon, Tagbilaran, Jagna, and Ubay with troops and ammunition. The *Panay*, also carrying the senior officer present at Cebu, ordered the *Marietta* to cooperate with the army on Bohol.²⁸⁴

On September 15, 1900, the gunboat *Concord* relieved the *Marietta* as station ship at Cebu and began assisting in the search for the German SS *Amoy*, which was suspected of carrying contraband. On the 16th, a telegram was received from the army post at Ormoc, Leyte that the insurgents had broken out and were attacking the garrison; a gunboat was immediately requested, so the gunboat *Elcano* was dispatched to Ormoc since the *Panay* was busy assisting the army in transporting men to Bohol. As the army garrison expected continued trouble from the insurgents on Bohol, the *Panay* returned to Cebu and transported a second reinforcement force to Bohol.²⁸⁵

On October 10, 1900, an army expedition under the command of Colonel Cheathan discovered the insurgent steamer *Antonia* in a lagoon near Binangonam, northern Luzon. A small naval party from the *Yorktown* found the steamer afloat in the inner harbor of Port Lampong. The steamer was said to have been up the creek for two years. Ensign MacArthur Jr. then proceeded to bring the captured steamer down stream and turn it over to American authorities.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ Taylor, 2: 402.

²⁸⁴ Sawyer, 99-103; Colonel E.J McClernand to *Marietta*, Sep. 2, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB; *Panay* to *Marietta*, Sep. 2, 1900; idem.

²⁸⁵ *Concord* to CINC Asiatic, Sep. 21, 1900; ibid.

²⁸⁶ *Yorktown* to CINC Asiatic, Oct. 21, 1900; ibid.

The benevolent policy was in trouble by late 1900. Soldiers were increasingly enforcing their own interpretation of G.O. 100. Crop and property destruction increased, and guerillas, spies, and others who violated G.O. 100 lost the right to be treated as prisoners of war. McKinley's reelection in November and the arrival of army reinforcements, bringing manpower to 70,000, enabled General MacArthur to plan a four-month campaign. On December 19, 1900, MacArthur informed commanders of a new and more stringent pacification policy. The following day he enacted G.O. 100 in its entirety. This signaled a change in official policy, but more importantly, coordinated Manila's strategy with that of the regional commanders; it removed the emphasis on civic action and conciliation, replacing it with one of punitive measures and removing restrictions.²⁸⁷ The previous policy of the army had allowed little recourse for army commanders to punish insurgents and insurgent supporters, but the new policy allowed for the arrest and detainment of insurgents and their supporters and the confiscation and destruction of personal property of those providing aid to the insurgency. MacArthur's conclusion that his policy of treating the insurgents with consideration was not having the desired effect meant that he would take a tougher line in by implementing General Order 100, of 1863. G.O. 100 was originally promulgated to help control guerilla warfare in the border states during the Civil War, and it meant that the Filipinos aiding the insurgents were going to be subjected to exemplary punishment in the upcoming year, 1901.²⁸⁸

C. THE BLOCKADE

The naval blockade of the Philippines cannot be underestimated in its importance. Frederick Sawyer, commander of the gunboat *Panay* stated, "Importance of [the] blockade on war like Hannibal, Napoleon, Southern Confederacy, blockade [was a] humane and effective [way] to impose peace".²⁸⁹

The insurgents depended heavily upon the waterways of the archipelago for lines of communication, lines of operation, and for trade as a source of revenue. Dating back to

²⁸⁷ Linn, 212-214

²⁸⁸ Gerald H. Early, "The United States Army in the Philippine Insurrection: 1899-1902", Master's Thesis (Fort Leavenworth, KS: U.S. Army Command and General Staff College, June 1975), 100-101.

²⁸⁹ Sawyer, 61-62.

October 14, 1898, insurgent General Lukban had ordered the purchase of all abaca at the fixed price of 5 pesos. The price steadily rose to 16 and 22 pesos, bringing large profits for the insurgent coffers and personal gain. Abaca proved to be an important source of money for Aguinaldo and the Philippine Republic. While the opening of ports, accomplished by the Hemp Expedition, was intended to eradicate the illicit trade of the insurgents by allowing legal trade, the opposite tended to occur, as Manila clearing houses became infested with insurgent financial agents.²⁹⁰

Aguinaldo, realizing the importance of trade to the insurgency, organized various provinces in the Visayas under the Filipino Revolutionary Republic. Aguinaldo deemed the flourishing hemp trade, especially in Samar and Leyte, as vital to his government, and appointed General Vicente R. Lukban (Samar) and General Ambrosio R. Mojica (Leyte) to control customs and import duties collected from the cash commodity. Before the arrival of the Americans, insurgent coffers were filled through the production, trade, and sale of hemp.²⁹¹

For the Americans, the Philippines seemed ideal for a blockade. The insurgent lines of communications from Luzon to the southern islands appeared very susceptible to interdiction. Islands like Samar, that produced the cash crop of hemp, needed rice and other foodstuff to survive, so the blockade served as a strong disposition for peace. ²⁹² But, while the orders of the Governor General were for the navy to break up illicit traffic, blockade foodstuff and arms, these items still tended to get through, like on the island of Samar. But, this failure was due more to the army's dispute over policy than with the navy's inability to fulfill its mission. The army forces on Samar, under Colonel Hardin, felt their work was made more difficult by the relaxation of the blockade by Otis and Colonel Arthur Murray (Leyte) under the policy of "appeasement".²⁹³

Regardless of the dispute inside the army over policy, the navy engaged in its mission to stamp out insurgent communications by sea and enforce the blockade during

²⁹⁰ Taylor, 2: 463.

²⁹¹ Imperial, 39, 76.

²⁹² Sawyer, 62-63.

²⁹³ Ibid., 56-57.

1900.²⁹⁴ The gunboats of Asiatic Station plied the waters of the Philippines in four patrol districts, as described by Frederick Sawyer (see Figure 14).²⁹⁵ The standard procedures for interdicting illicit trade was for the vessel caught in illicit trade (prize), to be stripped of any papers, the usable cargo taken, and the boat destroyed. The crew was taken to the nearest barrio with personal belongings, unless it was practical to turn the vessel over to the army's provost guards at Manila or a nearby garrison.²⁹⁶

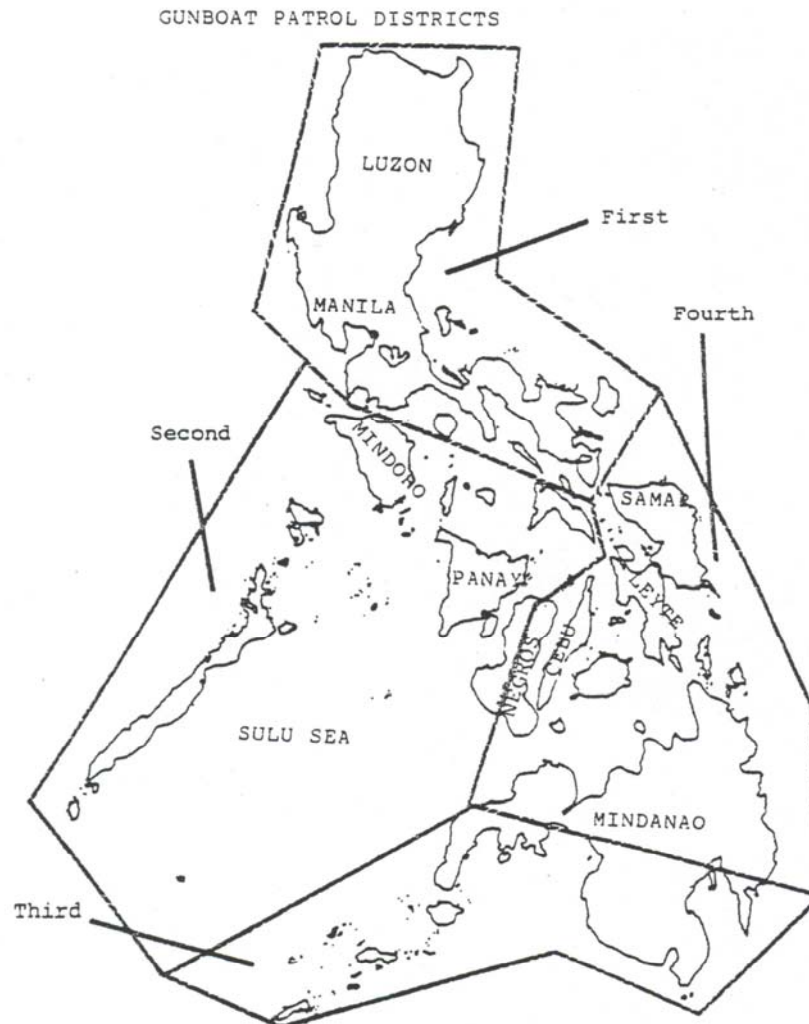


Figure 14. U.S. Navy Patrol Districts (From: Williams, "The U.S. Navy in the Philippine Insurrection", 114)

²⁹⁴ Ibid., 88.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., 15-16.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., 81.

On January 17, 1900, the Naval Attaché at Tokyo reported that the Naval Attaché at Berlin had received word that the German steamer *Emma Luyken* had sailed on December 16, 1899, from Hamburg, Germany, for Hong Kong. It was suspected that her cargo of 30,000 Mauser rifles and ten million rounds of ammunition were to be transferred to Shanghai, and then to the Philippines. The steamer *Savoia*, with 3,000 Vitali-Vetterli rifles, was thought to be in route to the Philippines via Macao. At the same time these reports were received, intelligence reported that large quantities of ammunition had been received at Hamburg, Germany and Antwerp, Belgium for transshipment to the Philippine Islands via Singapore. The navy and all personnel were informed to keep an eye on both vessels.²⁹⁷ In a confidential circular to commanding officers throughout the archipelago, Watson ordered the lookout for the named steamers.²⁹⁸ But, Otis reported on March 4, 1900, that the Hamburg shipments reported by Washington on January 18, 1900, had reached Hong Kong and Shanghai with no incident and nothing more was reported.²⁹⁹

On February 22, 1900, the subject of the Japanese vessel *Nunobiki-maru*, discussed in the previous chapter (page 57), which was abandoned off the coast of Shanghai the previous July, came to be an issue again. While the United States alleged, along with the Japanese press, that the vessel was carrying cargo of munitions of war for the Philippine insurgents, Viscount Aoki Siuzo, Minister of Foreign Affairs, finally acknowledged that the vessel was carrying war materials, but stopped short of conceding that it was bound for the Philippines or that there was any Japanese complacency in the matter. The minister went on to assure the United States that the Imperial Government had issued instruction to the prefectural and customs authorities to exercise particularly strict vigilance in the future with regard to cases like the one in question.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁷ A.L. Key to consul general, Hong Kong, Jan. 17, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

²⁹⁸ RADM J.C. Watson, "Confidential Circular to Commanding Officers", Jan. 24, 1900; SF IS; RG 45; NAB.

²⁹⁹ Otis to AGWAR, Mar. 4, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1148.

³⁰⁰ U.S. Legation, Tokyo, to Secretary of State, Feb. 22, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

On March 17, 1900, intelligence was received of a possible arms shipment from Japan to the insurgents of 8,000 rifles and ammunition, to be unloaded near Patapa, Ilocos Norte, Luzon. This information was provided to captain McCalla, station commander and commanding officer of the *Newark*, for action as this area was under his responsibility.³⁰¹ The *Newark* reported on March 21, 1900 that the gunboat *Samar* was patrolling the northern coast and reencountering the conditions at Claveria and Bangui, the suspected landing area for arms. The *Mindoro* embarked a marine guard and was to land the party between Bangui and Claveria to reconnoiter the locality in response to the possibility of the arms shipment. Unfortunately, the ship's commanding officer and the marine commander aborted the mission after only one failed attempt at landing. But, the navy continued to patrol the area in hopes of interdicting any landing of arms.³⁰²

In an urgent letter from the Commander-in-Chief of Naval Forces on Asiatic Station, Rear Admiral Geo C. Remey, forwarded by the Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, to the Secretary of State, John Hay, on April 10, 1900, it was relayed that a gunboat was urgently needed on the east coast of Luzon to assist in maintaining the current patrols to prevent the importation of arms from Hong Kong. It was navy's desire that steps be taken to prevent the exportation of arms from Hong Kong. Remey and Long begged that a consistent policy of notifying foreign governments of possible arms shipments and securing their aid in the prevention of such be implemented. It was believed by the navy that this would greatly decrease the demands put upon the naval forces in the Philippines. Remey and Long also desired that all consular officers at sea ports in China and elsewhere, where such shipments might originate from, exercise extreme vigilance in detecting and reporting such shipments.³⁰³ On April 24, 1900, Secretary of State, John Hay wrote the American Ambassador to Great Britain, Joseph H. Choate, and asked him to bring to the attention of Lord Robert Salisbury, British Prime Minister, the possible violations of British neutrality acts by the shipment of arms from Hong Kong to the Philippine Insurgents. The purpose was to put pressure on Her

³⁰¹ Brigadier General Young to Adjutant General, Vigan, Luzon, Mar. 17, 1900; *ibid*.

³⁰² *Newark* to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 21, 1900; *ibid*.

³⁰³ SECNAV to Secretary of State, Apr. 10, 1900; *ibid*.

Majesty's Government to take such action as appropriate in enforcing its neutrality laws.³⁰⁴ While there is no record of a response from the British, the apparent trend throughout this study is that the British adhered to a strict policy of neutrality.

The *Princeton* reported on May 1, 1900, while in Cebu as the station ship, that April was a busy month. The gunboats, *Isla de Luzon*, *Marietta*, *Pampanga*, *Callao*, and *Manila* all were patrolling for illicit trade and enforcing the blockade from Luzon to Mindanao. Insurgent trouble in Leyte was considerable. Insurgents were responsible for the steamer *Escano*'s destruction off the south end of Leyte in which the officers were killed and the steamer looted; the *Callao* and *Isla de Luzon* were dispatched to investigate. The commanding officer, Commander Harry Knox stressed the importance and need of an additional gunboat that "would be very useful". The *Princeton* was practically confined to the harbor to maintain custody of two large captured steam launches and in addition had boarding duty for the port, charges that are usually accomplished by the custom house authorities or by the Captain of the Port, none of which were present.³⁰⁵

In correspondence by the consul general of Hong Kong, the Hon. Rounseville Wildman, to the secretary of state in mid-May, it was noted that the insurrection's Hong Kong junta had plenty of arms and money and was preparing for shipments during the rainy season. The consular advised stationing a gunboat at Macao. Over the last six months the junta had obtained from the islands roughly half a million dollars from the sale of insurgent crops payable by orders on Hong Kong. It was estimated the junta had received roughly 18 million pesos prior to the outbreak of hostilities and a steady flow of money from Manila to Hong Kong had transpired. Large arms purchases in Germany were arranged by the junta and arrived in February, 1900, in Hong Kong where they were stored in Hong Kong, Macao, and other northern ports. Also stored in Hong Kong were insurgent arms from Italy. The junta's base of operations was actually out of Macao, away from British involvement and away from American eyes, but still close to Hong Kong. The colonial government and the Government Police in Hong Kong were prepared

³⁰⁴ John Hay to Joseph H. Choate, Apr. 24, 1900; *ibid*.

³⁰⁵ *Princeton* to CINC Asiatic, May 1, 1900; *ibid*.

to aid America in any and every way; a proclamation prohibiting the export of arms from Hong Kong without permission from the government was in force.

The consul believed that a gunboat stationed at Macao would frighten both the Portuguese and Chinese, and make it impossible for the junta to employ crews for filibustering expeditions. He desired that an American gunboat be stationed at Macao, so that “the Philippine Islands can be saved from the fate of Ache”.³⁰⁶ In a letter to the secretary of the navy, Remey acknowledged that information concerning the Filipino junta attempting to land arms and ammunition for the insurgents from Macao, had been received. In response the *Don Juan de Austria* was sent to Macao in hopes of disconcerting and retarding the junta’s plans.³⁰⁷ On May 18, 1900 the adjutant general of the War Department directed General MacArthur to dispatch an officer to Hong Kong, to report on the activities of the junta located there, and their efforts in furnishing aid and assistance to the insurgents, and to suggest how best to frustrate them.³⁰⁸

In a memo from Commander Harry Knox, commanding officer of the station ship at Cebu, *Princeton*, a quandary over the problem of illicit trade and the blockade was demonstrated. Illicit traffic, as defined by Rear Admiral John C. Watson, on August 19, 1899, was to apply to “any vessel flying the Filipino Flag, any vessel attempting to trade with closed ports, or any vessel carrying contraband of war, when determined that its destination was within insurgent lines”. The admiral also directed that the commanding general be consulted in carrying out his ideas (commanding general). Vessels with regular papers, passing directly to and from ports occupied by U.S. forces, with no suspicious circumstances, were to be passed. Small vessels, less than 15 tons, permitted by clearance papers of U.S. port authorities to go to and from unoccupied ports, adjacent to opened ports, were to be passed at the discretion of commanding officers, under General Order No. 38.

General Order 38, had been issued by Otis on March 24, 1900, to provide guidelines to help determine which vessels might be violating trade restrictions, separate

³⁰⁶ Consul general, Hong Kong, to Secretary of State, May 14, 1900; *ibid.*

³⁰⁷ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, May 28, 1900; *ibid.*

³⁰⁸ Corbin to MacArthur, May 18, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1169-1170.

from the merchants trying to avoid payment of license fees and customs. General Order 69, issued by Otis on December 21, 1899, similar to G.O. 38 (not available), highlights the problem, "Vessels licensed for the coasting trade will not be allowed to call at unequipped ports along the coast of the archipelago without special permission of the military governor or department or district military commander, who, in authorizing such trade, will prescribe the conditions under which it is permitted".³⁰⁹ On April 20, 1900, Hughes, district commander of the Visayas, directed the commanding officer of First District at Tacloban that no port clearances were to be made to closed ports; such action was to be stopped immediately.³¹⁰ Further in his memo, Knox questions the authority of Hughes, who desired to stop all trading with closed ports. But, under General Order No. 38, as interpreted from Manila, discretion is given to district commanders in clearing small vessels for near ports.³¹¹ On May 11, 1900, Hughes wrote to Knox concerning trade within the department. He stated that "no port official in this department has been authorized to issue clearances for closed or unoccupied ports. Troops being on board the vessel does not alter the situation. The object is to stop contributions to insurgent war fund and to stop obstinate insurgents from doing business. General Kobbé's order is superseded by General Order 38, Military Governor".³¹² This highlights the policy contention within the army, an issue that would not be solved for sometime and will be discussed in further length in the following chapter. The problem revolved around two issues. The first was that Hughes, while commander of the department, had little authority over the district commanders under his responsibility, and lacked the coordination with the department commanders in close proximity. The result was that conflicting orders in regards to allowable trade were issued. The second problem was that while relatively peaceful islands and areas practiced the policy of appeasement, the district commanders failed to realize that this tended to contribute to the insurgent cause in more hostile neighboring districts by allowing illicit waterborne trade.

³⁰⁹ Williams, 129-130, 326-329.

³¹⁰ AGWAR to Brig. General Hughes to Colonel McClernand, Apr. 20, 1900, AF 10, RG 45, NAB.

³¹¹ *Princeton*, "Memorandum", May 20, 1900; *ibid.*; SECWAR, "General Order No. 38", Mar. 29, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1154.

³¹² Brigadier General Hughes to Commander Harry Knox, May 11, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

In May, the consul general at Shanghai, the Honorable John Goodnow, wrote to assistant secretary of state Thomas W. Cridler, concerning the British steamer *Marjorie* from Trieste bound for Shanghai. It was alleged that the vessel contained 308 boxes of munitions, possibly bound for insurgents in the Philippine Islands.³¹³ A letter from Hay, to the Secretary of War, explained that the steamer *Marjorie* would be inspected by the authorities upon its arrival at Shanghai.³¹⁴ No further documentation on the *Marjorie* could be found, but the case highlights the cooperation of American civil and military officials in coordinating efforts to pressure foreign governments in stopping illicit arms going into the Philippines.

On June 7, 1900, the Assistant Secretary of War wrote the Secretary of the Navy to inquire as to who issued in May 1899, the order “By the direction of the Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Naval Force on the Asiatic Station; All trade with the Philippines is prohibited, except with the ports of Manila, Iloilo, Cebu, and Bakalote. Ships are hereby warned to go nowhere else in the Philippines”.³¹⁵ In response, on June 14, 1900, Admiral Remey reported on his findings. In May 1899 all trade not in American possession was forbidden; especially in the islands of Samar, Leyte, and Cebu. This originated from an order from the Military Governor on April 24, 1899 in which he stated, “I am now trying to prevent all supplies reaching the insurgents from Manila . . . I hope that no ships are being cleared from this port for ports in the south not in our possession, as all the information makes it conclusive to my mind that they are an aid to the insurgents both in supplies and information. I intend to do everything in my power to break up this trade.” In his findings, Remey determined that commanding officers often acted under oral instructions only, of which there is no record.³¹⁶

As the debate over the blockade ensued, the navy continued to conduct its job. In a report from the *Nashville* at the beginning of June 1900, it was reported that the coastal shipping was gradually conforming to regulations. The cordon of army troop attachments

³¹³ John Goodnow to T.W. Cridler, May 16, 1900; *ibid.*

³¹⁴ Secretary of State to SECNAV, Jun. 20, 1900; *ibid.*

³¹⁵ Assistant SECWAR to SECNAV, Jun. 7, 1900; *ibid.*

³¹⁶ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Jun. 14, 1900; *ibid.*

along the coast along with the frequent patrols of the small gunboats made it extremely difficult to smuggle arms and ammunition, making it rare and meager.³¹⁷ The port of Antimonan, in the province of Tayabas, Luzon, and the port of Ibajay, on Panay, were opened to coasting trade on June 10, 1900.³¹⁸ On June 12, 1900, the passage of vessels between the Island of Maricaban and Luzon was allowed.³¹⁹ And on June 15, 1900, the ports of Silay and Dumaguete on the Island of Negros were opened to coasting trade.³²⁰

In a request for further trade clarification, Commander Harry Knox on June 12, 1900, requested instructions regarding illicit trade. He had found it difficult to frame instructions for the stations' gunboats. Based upon instructions from Admiral Watson, consequent developments of the war, and general orders of Otis, Knox issued a memorandum on May 20, 1900. He held that there were divergent views by different army authorities at different times and in different places in regard to trade. These views were broadly divided into two classes: the view that all trade should be stopped where not strictly held in American hands, so as to starve out the insurgents and stop revenue to fund the war. Another view held that since the United States could not occupy all the small ports, Americans should encourage the natives to believe in their kind intentions by permitting them to trade as freely as possible.

The result of the unclear policy had caused considerable diversity of practice in different islands and ports. Knox acknowledged that diversity may be wise, as the inhabitants of one island may differ radically from those of another, and it was the army that would be the first to feel the ill effect of any mistaken policy, so it was Knox's instructions to fully consult army district or post commanders and honor their papers. But, some port authorities were very lax, and sometimes made trade practically free. While Hughes held strong views in regard to restricting trade, he was unable to carry them out in his own department, as the order from Manila gave discretion to district commanders. Hughes also acknowledged that he had in an instance or two cleared vessels

³¹⁷ *Nashville* to CINC Asiatic, Jun. 2, 1900; *ibid.*

³¹⁸ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet Circular No. 10", Jun. 10, 1900; *ibid.*

³¹⁹ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet Circular No. 6", Jun. 12, 1900; *ibid.*

³²⁰ CINC Asiatic, "Fleet Circular No. 7", Jun. 15, 1900; *ibid.*

for a closed port himself, as a matter of military policy or to conciliate an ally or a useful informant. This demonstrated how hard it was to lay down inflexible rules for the navy enforcing the blockade.³²¹

While evidence of the gunboats' blockade against large arms shipments from outside the Philippines is lacking, the gunboats nevertheless were busy interdicting inter-island illicit trade. During the month of July, the gunboat *Pampanga*, patrolling around Leyte in company with the *Panay*, overhauled the S.S. *Albert* making for a closed port, destroyed two banca boats engaged in illicit trade, overhauled the lorchas *Maud* and *Yngles*, and destroyed two more bancas. Also during their cruise, the gunboats were requested by the army to shell the insurgent town of Carygan. While at anchorage in Calbayog, the *Pampanga* inspected all boats entering and leaving port. On July 29, while cruising off the coast of Samar for illicit trade, the ship destroyed 7 banca boats and another on July 31.³²²

The cruising report for *Panay* for the month of August revealed that the vessel captured thirty-seven vessels and destroyed twenty-five during which time she also cooperated with the army four different times.³²³ For September, the *Panay* captured four vessels, destroyed another four, and cooperated with the army twenty times.³²⁴ The commander of the *Panay* shed insight to the growing tensions between the army commands on Samar and Leyte, who differed in their policy approach. On Leyte, where the insurgency was relatively quiet, the policy of "appeasement" was practiced by Colonel Murray and backed by Otis. But, on Samar, which was engaged against a very active insurgency, Colonel Hardin felt the relaxation of the blockade on Leyte allowed arms, food, and insurgents into Samar, a view that was shared by the department commander Hughes.³²⁵

³²¹ *Princeton* to CINC Asiatic, Jun. 12, 1900; *ibid.*

³²² *Pampanga* to CINC Asiatic, Jul. 31, 1900; *ibid.*

³²³ Sawyer, 96.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, 106.

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

As mentioned earlier, there were indications that Japan was secretly attempting to aid the insurgents, but nothing could be proven. That changed with the capture of insurgent documents. Among the documents belonging to insurgent Lieutenant General Mariano Trias, one contained the Filipino account of a conference with Japanese consul Taiyo Hojo, chancellor of the imperial Japanese consulate of Manila, in Cavite province on October 11, 1900. The Japanese Consul advised Trias to visit Japan to negotiate voluntary contributions of arms and concerning the future of archipelago. Trias expressed the view that the Filipinos were more agreeable to make concessions to Japan, because of kindred blood, than to the Americans. The consul said Japan desired coaling stations, freedom of trade, and to build railroads in the Philippines. Individual Japanese assistance to the insurgents had been suspected, but official intervention and encouragement shed new light on the situation. MacArthur claimed that it answered the defiant attitude of many insurgent leaders, their wavering policy, and the continued resistance in southern Luzon.³²⁶ Further evidence of involvement by the Japanese does not exist, but the attempt had to be noted to validate American claims throughout this study in regards to attempted arms shipments from Japan.

As 1900 came to a close in December, the navy continued its policy of patrolling against illicit traffic among the islands. Around Vigan in northern Luzon, the *Yorktown* and *Samar* patrolled to keep arms from being imported from China. Among the Visayan Islands, the *Bennington*, *Castine*, *Concord*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Petrel*, *Arayat*, *Leyte*, *Mindoro*, *Pampanga*, *Panay*, *Paragua*, and *Villalobos* patrolled to interdict inter-island insurgent trade and communications. Around Mindanao and the southern reaches of the archipelago, the *Isla de Luzon*, *Marietta*, *Calamianes*, and *Callao* patrolled to stop arms shipments from the south and interdict any inter-island trade from the north. And, in and around central and southern Luzon, the *Albany*, *Manila*, *Princeton*, *Gardoqui*, *Urdaneta*, *Basco*, and *Quiros* patrolled. The gunboats *Albay*, *El Cano*, *Manileno*, *Mariveles*, and *Mindanao* were all out of commission for repairs. In stark contrast, the great warships of the Asiatic Station, the *Brooklyn*, *Newark*, *Monadnock*,

³²⁶ MacArthur to AGWAR, Dec. 28, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1239; MacArthur to AGWAR, Dec. 30, 1900, *idem*, 1240.

Monterey, Nashville, New Orleans, and Oregon sat idle, providing more of a visual deterrent than a practical one.³²⁷

By December 1900, General MacArthur came to the conclusion that the policy of “appeasement” was simply not working. In a letter to the Adjutant General of the War Department on December 25, 1900, MacArthur wrote that the pacification of the Philippines was going slowly and a more rigid policy was needed. MacArthur expressed his desire to close ports in the Camarines and Albay provinces on Luzon, and on Samar and Leyte. On December 26, 1900, Corbin responded emphatically that the Secretary of War disapproved of closing any ports.³²⁸ While MacArthur instituted General Order 100, the most pressing facet, the closing of ports, an issue that had so far plagued America with inconsistency and debate, would remain unresolved as the insurrection began the new year, 1901.

D. THE CHINA RELIEF EXPEDITION

While the China Relief Expedition is outside the scope of this study, since it occurred within the area of responsibility of the Asiatic Station and during the time period of interest, a brief overview must be given. As stated previously, Rear Admiral Louis Kempff had been assigned as the Second-in-Command of U.S. naval forces on the Asiatic Station in April, 1900, and placed in charge of the naval forces north of Hong Kong, which other than the vessels that reported to China for repairs, consisted of the gunboat *Monocracy*, *Don Juan de Austria*, and his flagship the *Newark*.

By May 18, 1900, Kempff reported that the anti-foreign society Fists of Righteous Harmony (I Ho Ch’uan), or Boxers, were rapidly spreading. On May 12, they had attacked a Catholic village killing 61 Christians. Unless the Chinese government began to take action, the situation was likely to become very serious. The presence of warships at Taku was suspected to have good influence on the Chinese Government, and was seen to be needed.³²⁹ In relaying a message from John Fowler, consul of the United States at

³²⁷ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, “Report of Distribution and Employment of Vessels”, Dec. 1900; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

³²⁸ MacArthur to AGWAR, Dec. 25, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1237; Corbin to MacArthur, Dec. 26, 1900, *idem*, 1237, 1238.

³²⁹ SINC to CINC Asiatic, May 18, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB..

Chefoo, China, the Secretary of State stated that a gunboat was absolutely necessary and the Yorktown was ordered to Taku.³³⁰ The American consul at Amoy, China also requested gunboats, and the Don Juan de Austria and Princeton were sent to Amoy.³³¹

As the conflict increased, the need for American ground forces to protect U.S. interests increased. On May 31, 1900, the *Newark* landed fifty-six men who were sent to Peking under the command of Captain McCalla along with forces from England, France, Russia, Italy, Japan, and Austria. While the affairs appeared to be quieting with some 20 men-of-war at Taku, an impending crop failure was forecasted to cause probable trouble.³³² On June 1, 1900, Special Order No. 65 was issued by General MacArthur, ordering the 9th Regiment of Infantry to Taku, China, to protect the American Legation and to report to Kempff, then at Taku.³³³

In response to the increasing problem in China and the apparent drain on resources, Rear Admiral Remey emphatically stressed that no vessel could be spared from the Philippines: “the most important service to be performed by the Naval vessels on this station lies entirely within Philippine waters... there is no likelihood that any vessels can be spared for service in northern waters for as long a time to come as can be now foreseen”. He expressed his view that the men-of-war of other nations in China lessened the need of such U.S. reinforcements.³³⁴

By June 5, Russian forces had begun fighting and Kempff requested the immediate presence of the gunboat *Helena* to protect American interests or any other vessel with a maximum draft of eleven feet. In his words, “An American gunboat will be very useful as a temporary base, inside of the river”.³³⁵ Remey responded that while the use of a gunboat as a base for the landing force was desirable, none could be spared for

³³⁰ Secretary of State to SECNAV, Jun. 18, 1900; *ibid.*

³³¹ CINC Asiatic to U.S. Amoy Consul, Jul. 17, 1900; *ibid.*

³³² Rear Admiral Louis Kempff to SECNAV, Jun. 3, 1900; *ibid.*

³³³ Major General MacArthur, “Special Order No. 65”, Jun. 17, 1900; *ibid.*

³³⁴ CINC Asiatic to SINC, Jun. 4, 1900; *ibid.*

³³⁵ RADM Kempff to SECNAV, Jun. 5, 1900; *ibid.*

this purpose.³³⁶ The siege of the American Legation at Peking began on June 20, 1900 and lasted till August 14, 1900. The China Relief Expedition, for which the China Relief Expedition Medal was awarded, lasted from May 24, 1900 to May 27, 1901. The only vessels to receive a medal were *Brooklyn*, *Buffalo*, *Iris*, *Monocacy*, *Nashville*, *New Orleans*, *Newark*, *Solace*, *Wheeling*, *Yorktown*, and *Zafiro*, none of which saw action.³³⁷ The focus of the Asiatic Station remained on the Philippines.

While the number of vessels in China did increase significantly during the Boxer Rebellion, these vessels were for the most part large capital ships (cruisers and battleships) that had little use in the Philippines as already demonstrated. In Chinese ports these ships proved of modest use as the conflict consisted entirely of land forces marching to Peking. What is revealing is that the second-in-command (Kempff) and the commander-in-chief (Remey) argued vehemently, not about the larger vessels, but about gunboats.

E. CONCLUSION

At the conclusion of 1900, the navy's role in the Philippines had remained unchanged in regards to its cooperation with the army (transporting, supplying, communicating, and supporting) and blockading; except, that the navy's importance in these two areas had definitely increased. In regards to the navy's organization and the policies laid down by the army, these changed in an attempt to counter the insurgent's use of guerilla warfare.

The assertion by top military officials that the navy was engaged in cooperating with the army was not simply lip service, at least not among the rank and file. As stated by Commander Frederick Sawyer, commanding officer of the gunboat *Panay* during 1900, "Close operation with [the] army [was] without exception". The army had the tougher job, as asserted by Sawyer. manning over 400 garrisons throughout the Philippines, the navy had to give the army a hand, and from the evidence of the gunboats,

³³⁶ CINC Asiatic to SINC, Jun. 4, 1900; *ibid*.

³³⁷ United States Department of the Navy, Naval Historical Center, "China Relief Expedition Medal", Available [Online] <http://www.history.navy.mil/medals/boer.htm> [Jul. 4, 2004].

it did.³³⁸ Gunboats continued to prove of such worth, that the army continued to operate its own gunboats. The army gunboats on Laguna de Bay, the *Florida*, *Laguna de Bay*, and *Oeste* continued to patrol, render assistance, transport, and land troops within the interior of Luzon, similar to the services provided by the navy along the coasts.³³⁹

Amphibious operations in the Bicol Peninsula and Eastern Visayas demonstrated the flexibility that the navy added. Tactics were relatively simple between the army and navy; the Americans would arrive at a port at dawn, inducing a civilian exodus, send an officer ashore under the white flag to persuade the insurgents to lay down their arms, and if this failed, the army would load into boats towed by a steam launch, and race for the shore as the navy provided cover. This would be the most critical time as the soldiers were defenseless until they reached shore.³⁴⁰ Repeatedly during 1900, the army and navy conducted joint-amphibious operations. On April 7, 1900, the *Marietta* ferried and landed the 34th Infantry from Baler to Kasiguran Bay.³⁴¹ The *Villalobos* on many occasions, day and night, in all sorts of weather, transported and landed the 38th Infantry.³⁴²

The navy was also often sequestered by the army to assist its many small garrisons. During insurgent attacks upon Ormoc, Leyte, it was the *Panay* that provided vital gunfire support that aided the exhausted American garrison.³⁴³ With insufficient troops on Samar, often on shoestring manning, it was the responsibility of the navy to act as a force multiplier. The many efforts of the navy's gunboats were much appreciated by the army, especially in the ports of Calbayog and Catbalogan.³⁴⁴

³³⁸ Sawyer, 51-52.

³³⁹ USA *Laguna de Bay* to Adjutant General, Department of Southern Luzon, Sep. 1, 1900; Entry 5773, RG 395, NAB.

³⁴⁰ Linn, 179.

³⁴¹ Executive Officer, *Marietta* to Commanding Officer, *Marietta*, Apr. 8, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

³⁴² George S. Anderson to Adjutant General, Department of Southern Luzon, Oct. 19, 1900, Joint Military-Naval Operations, Operations of Naval Ships and Fleet Units, Subject File OJ (SF OJ), RG 45, NAB.

³⁴³ Sawyer, 112-114.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 45-47.

American strategy and policy in the Philippines often varied. While politicians desired a benevolent assimilation and a number of military leaders backed the policy of appeasement, there were a number that advocated a stricter policy. It would later be learned that in May 1900, the Filipino junta was actually worried that the United States would end the war and put into effect laws that would consider the insurgents bandits, and instead treat them not as lawful combatants, but as robbers and brigands.³⁴⁵ On December 23, 1900, MacArthur did just that by enacting General Order 100.³⁴⁶

But, while a more severe pacification policy was needed, there was also legitimacy to the claim that one policy could not be applied uniformly across the Philippines. Mindanao and Jolo were too far from, and the inhabitants too unlike the people of Luzon for insurgents to establish a strong foothold in the southernmost islands. The Moros often fought and killed the small number of Filipino Christians on Mindanao.³⁴⁷ The Moro datu (a regional tribal leader) of the section around Zamboanga, Mindanao requested U.S. occupation and permission to drive out the small number of insurgents. American occupation of the coastal towns in Moro territory went relatively smoothly. It was not until years later, when U.S. forces attempted to penetrate the interior and enact laws, that conflict with the Moros would erupt.³⁴⁸

In regards to the rest of the archipelago, General MacArthur saw that opposition came from the towns, and the guerrilla bands could not survive without their support base within the towns. But, in September 1900, MacArthur believed in waiting and having patience. Four months later, he realized that the result could only be accomplished by turning the screw, so an entirely new campaign based upon the idea of detaching the towns from the immediate support of the insurgents in the field. On December 30, 1900, MacArthur published prescription of the laws of war, and the duties of noncombatants, and ordered that violations would be met with exemplary punishment.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ Taylor, 2: 516.

³⁴⁶ Teodoro M. Kalaw, *The Philippine Revolution* (Rizal, PI: Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, 1969), 265-266.

³⁴⁷ Taylor, 2: 446.

³⁴⁸ Taylor, 2: 452.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., 2: 278-279.

The lack of naval officers and crews on the Asiatic Station shaped the need for creative thinking. The continued problem was that the navy had scores of gunboats, but did not have crews to man them. At the same time, the navy had several large combatants, monitors, cruisers, and battleships, that were not well suited for the tasks required among the Philippine Islands as echoed by the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation when he claimed that monitors *Monadnock* and *Monterey* were of little use against the insurgents.³⁵⁰ Facing a severe ship and manning shortage, due to the requirements of the Asiatic Station, the navy was unable to reestablish the European Station which had been disestablished during the Spanish-American War. The North Atlantic and Pacific Stations were run with reduced numbers.³⁵¹

On April 12, 1900, the Secretary of the Navy, realizing that he was unable to supply officers and complements for all the vessels on Asiatic Station, directed the monitors *Monadnock* and *Monterey* to be laid up with only two officers, two warrant officers, and thirty enlisted men left aboard. Furthermore, the *Oregon*, the only battleship on Asiatic Station, was ordered to be reduced in crew by one-third. The reasoning for the *Oregon* was that she was too valuable to risk cruising among the Philippine Islands, and her officers and crew could be better utilized on smaller vessels.³⁵² In his annual report (August 1900), the commander-in-chief of naval forces on Asiatic Station, stated that the northern part of station was only visited for repairs and docking until the Boxer rebellion.

For 1900, the Asiatic Station consisted of one battleship, five cruisers, two monitors, fifteen gunboats, one converted cruiser, sixteen former Spanish gunboats, a number of auxiliaries, and two more gunboats that had not been commissioned. The *Monadnock*, *Monterey*, and *Oregon*, still all had reduced crews for scarcity of officers and men to man the gunboats. Another practice employed to man the gunboats was decommissioning one going into long repair or overhaul, so that her crew could put another one into service. The parent ship system of manning and equipping the gunboats was gradually discontinued, beginning in the latter part of 1899, and the change was

³⁵⁰ Navy, *Annual Reports for 1900*, 450.

³⁵¹ Ibid., 448.

³⁵² SECNAV to CINC Asiatic, Apr. 12, 1900; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

completed in 1900, so that each vessel was practically independent. Because the gunboats were so busy, no fleet drills or tactical maneuvers were able to be conducted during the year, for lack of opportunity.³⁵³

While it was the gunboats that were engaged in patrolling, reconnaissance, landing troops, bombarding insurgents, and supplying, they still engaged in other duties. The gunboats were engaged in conducting surveys of the coast of the Philippine Islands. As directed from the Secretary of the Navy, as the situation permitted, the *Bennington* and such smaller gunboats that could be spared were directed to make surveys along the un-surveyed coast in order to facilitate the naval and military operations that were being carried on. The extent of the coasts of the islands was approximated to be 8,800 nautical miles, of which only 1,500 were regarded as relatively well surveyed.³⁵⁴ The navy also continued a number of independent operations such as on January 11, 1900, when the *Princeton* took peaceable possession of the Batan Island group.³⁵⁵

In his farewell letter to the Secretary of the Navy, before being relieved as Commander-in-Chief of Naval Forces on Asiatic Station, Rear Admiral J.C. Watson made some telling requests. First, he told of the urgent need for vessels in the Philippines of the *Bennington*, *Helena*, *Nashville*, and *Marietta* gunboat class. He stated that it was impossible for the army to cover all landing points, and there were indications that the insurgents were buying small schooners for filibustering purposes in the Philippines. Because of this, it was necessary for incessant naval patrols, the smaller gunboats taking the inshore waters and the larger gunboats acting as bases. The illicit importation of arms he considered as the most pressing danger.³⁵⁶

The effect of the navy's blockade during 1900 is ambiguous to say the least. Numerous reports were received concerning the shipment of arms from Japan, Europe, and China, but no evidence of it being interdicted exists. But, to assume that it arrived, is also incorrect as there is no evidence to support this view either. What is available is a

³⁵³ Navy, *Annual Reports for 1900*, 544-548.

³⁵⁴ SECNAV to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 19, 1900; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

³⁵⁵ John Hay to SECNAV, Jan. 25, 1900; *ibid*.

³⁵⁶ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Apr. 19, 1900; *ibid*.

number of references to the insurgents' shortage of arms and ammunition during the insurrection. Insurgent field manuals and orders instructed troops to preserve weapons and ammunition. It was considered more important to save a rifle than a wounded comrade.³⁵⁷ On Cebu, they lacked weapons and ammunition, so they had to resort to buying arms in small quantities from private persons and manufacturing their own guns and cartridges. The insurgents established makeshift munitions factories called *maestranzas* in different provinces, a policy also adopted on Samar.³⁵⁸ Cartridge shells, manufactured in the *maestranzas*, were made from galvanized iron roofing, frying pans, and silver coins.³⁵⁹ While the diplomatic efforts of the State Department deserve recognition for helping to curtail the shipment of arms from abroad into the Philippines, it must also be assumed that the other factor in deterring arm shipments was the presence and efforts of the gunboats on Asiatic Station.

The other area of the blockade was in regards to inter-island shipping. As seen through the insurgent generals Vicente Lukban on Samar, Ambrosio Moxica on Leyte and Vito Belarmino in the Bicol area, the naval blockade prevented these commanders from coordinating the resistance in the hemp provinces.³⁶⁰ Efforts to interdict gun running and illicit trading outside of occupied ports, from Leyte to southern Luzon were accomplished by gunboats such as the *Panay* which during a twenty day period captured 34 native craft engaged in illicit trade, and greatly aided in cutting off communications between Leyte and Samar.³⁶¹ It is deduced that the *Panay's* accomplishments thwarted insurgent efforts effectively since insurgent General Lukban, commanding in Samar, put a \$5,000 reward on the heads of the captains of the *Panay* and *Pampanga*, and also inquired into the possibility of conducting night attacks on the gunboats while they were at anchor.³⁶² It is also from the *Panay* that it was learned, from confiscated letters, the

³⁵⁷ Linn, 188.

³⁵⁸ Mojares, 74-77.

³⁵⁹ Imperial, 71.

³⁶⁰ Linn, 190

³⁶¹ Sawyer, 59-60.

³⁶² Ibid., 70.

difficulties of the native craft in evading the gunboats; one vessel had been hiding on the Island of Bohol for over a month.³⁶³

The coming year of 1901 would be called the “year of victory” by author John Gates. The army’s pacification policy would change or more aptly become consistent, and 21 of 38 un-pacified provinces at the beginning of the year, would be pacified through the combined efforts of the army and navy. Shadow insurgent governments were broken; crop and property destruction became more common, a tactic that became termed “burning”. In more places the army imposed its policy of “concentration” the separation of civilians into towns or “protected zones”, outside of which everyone was regarded as an enemy. The harsh tactics worked for Major General MacArthur, as when General Chaffee took over in September 1901, only the Tagalog provinces in Luzon, the Island of Samar, and the Island of Cebu remained hostile.³⁶⁴

³⁶³ Ibid., 80.

³⁶⁴ Linn, 214-215; Gates, 225-243.

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IV. THE FALL OF THE GENERALS, BATANGAS, SAMAR, AND THE END

The last period of the Philippine Insurrection, from January 1, 1901, to July 4, 1902, was as problematic as the first two periods covered in the proceeding chapters. The year and a half of hostilities would see continued problems in strategy, organization, and manning for the army, navy, and insurgents. Several key factors from the end of 1900, notably Major General MacArthur's issuance of General Order 100 and the reelection of President McKinley, combined to enable the army and navy to achieve success throughout the archipelago during the first several months of the new year (1901), but success was short lived as the last remaining insurgents in the Province of Batangas on Luzon and on the Island of Samar proved difficult to defeat, and in the case of Balangiga, Samar, inflicted severe casualties on U.S. forces.

The navy's role in the insurrection continued to consist of cooperating with the army and enforcing a blockade. But unlike in the previous two chapters, where there was a somewhat divergence (though diminishing) between the two tasks, the coming year would see the synthesis of the two into a policy intertwined with that of the army's pacification of the islands. This is to say that unlike at the onset of hostilities, where ships would be tasked to support the military campaigns in Luzon or to conduct general patrols in search of illicit trade (mainly arms), during 1901 and into 1902, a large portion of the squadron was centered around Samar to cooperate with the army and specifically blockade that island to assist in the army's pacification strategy. This close cooperation led directly to the success eventually achieved there.

To understand fully the navy's role in the insurrection and thus be able to assess its impact and success, it is important to understand the broader picture. While the navy is the focus of this study, it can only be understood within the larger context of the conflict. This mandates, as in the other chapters, that due attention be given to the efforts of the army and the civilian administration. As stated in a previous chapter, the navy's role was to assist in the policy laid down by the War Department, which equated to the policy

espoused by the Military Governor, so to deduce if the navy was accomplishing its job; it must be explored to find out what that job exactly was.

A. THE ARMY

As discussed in the previous chapter, Major General MacArthur in late December 1900, decided to pursue a harsher pacification policy. To accomplish this strategy he issued General Order 100 in an effort to directly attack the insurgent's center of gravity, the people. MacArthur would later claim that "Rarely in a war has a single document been so instrumental in influencing ultimate results. The consequences in this instance, however ...seem to preclude all possibility of doubt, and also seem to justify the conclusion that the effective pacification of the Archipelago commenced December 20, 1900."³⁶⁵ As evidence will show, MacArthur was correct.

The Secretary of War, reporting on 1901, informed the President and Congress that the army had established 502 garrisons throughout the archipelago at every important town and strategic point to suppress the insurgents, protect the population, and establish civil government. But the insurgents were receiving funds and supplies from the towns and countryside in which they operated, and it was the past policy to rarely interfere with these supporters. Furthermore, it was the practice that prisoners taken in battle were disarmed and released. This previous policy had been instituted in the hope of peacefully pacifying the native population, but, on the contrary it had the opposite effect. There was a sense of suspicion about the beneficence and it was looked at as an indication of weakness. For these reasons a more rigid policy (G.O. 100) to deal with the residents of the archipelago was issued by the military governor on December 20, 1900, followed by the expulsion of some 50 insurgent supporters and agitators to Guam, and a vigorous campaign by the army that led to the capture or surrender of the majority of the prominent insurgent leaders.

The army continued to face manning problems. On January 4, 1901, MacArthur requested additional troops for a rigorous prosecution of the insurgents. The army's total strength in the Philippines on December 31, 1900, was 67,479 troops. But even with such a large number of troops, the army was more active than at any other time since

³⁶⁵ Linn, 214.

November 1899.³⁶⁶ In an attempt to deal with the problem of troop strength, the War Department worked to withdraw troops from Cuba for use in the Philippines.³⁶⁷ The Volunteer forces, raised under provisions of the Army Act of March 2, 1899, were to return stateside when their contracts expired on July 1, 1901. The Army Act of February 2, 1901, allowed the President to assign troop strength in the Philippines from 59,131 to 100,000 troops, but with improvements in the Philippines by mid-1901, he put the number at 77,287.³⁶⁸ By the time the Army had finally obtained the authorization and allocation for the desirable number of troops in the Philippines, the conflict was almost over. By the end of 1901, the army's troop strength had diminished to 1,111 officers, and 42,128 enlisted personnel in the Philippines.³⁶⁹ It begs the question of if the army had had an overwhelming force in the beginning, would the insurrection have lasted as long as it did, or if it would have begun at all.

Along with his request for troops, MacArthur discussed the military need to close ports in southern Luzon, on the Island of Samar, and the Island of Leyte. As seen in the previous year, hemp was an important commodity to Washington, but MacArthur explained that the impact of closing ports would be negligible when compared to the military advantage obtained; Rear Admiral Remey and Brigadier General Bates also supported such a policy.³⁷⁰ Unfortunately, the Secretary of War was not open to interfering with the commerce within the Philippines unless it was an absolute military necessity (which MacArthur claimed it was). The Secretary of War directed MacArthur to make a full report on the advantages expected from closing ports and the reasons for such expectations.³⁷¹

³⁶⁶ MacArthur to AGWAR, Jan. 17, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1246-1247.

³⁶⁷ Corbin to Wood, Jan. 29, 1901, *ibid.*, 249.

³⁶⁸ SECWAR, *Annual Report for 1901*, vol. 1, (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1901), 7-8.

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 1: 30-33

³⁷⁰ MacArthur to AGWAR, Jan. 4, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1242.

³⁷¹ Corbin to MacArthur, Jan. 7, 1901, *Ibid.*, 1242.

Macarthur's response, on January 9, 1901, was:

Hemp in Southern Luzon in same relation to present struggle as cotton during rebellion [Civil War]; fields nearly all in possession of insurgents; large sums collected from contraband trade, which can only be controlled by closing ports, the military advantage of which would arise from self-interested action of hemp dealers to induce pacification, and also action of natives to same end. Every effort being made to utilize this advantage for purpose of obtaining decisive results; temporary closure of ports powerful factor, which shall abandon with reluctance; final results can not be predicted, but we are now nearer pacification than at any time since outbreak.³⁷²

On January 11, 1901, the Secretary of War gave his "constrained approval" for the closure of ports, but in the case of the ports of Tabaco and Surigao on Luzon, he demonstrated that this approval was not without limits, as he ordered them reopened in early February.³⁷³ The problem that arose seems to be linked with speculators, for on February 9, 1901, the Secretary of War reported that banks and capitalist in Manila were interested in keeping the price of hemp inflated, and were possibly stirring up the insurrection to prevent the flow of hemp. The Secretary was adamant that he did not want the department to be used by the speculators, and thus did not wish to interfere in any action that would effect trade; unless, it was a military necessity.³⁷⁴

By the time of MacArthur's relief, by Major General Adna Chaffee, the insurgency had for the most part been confined to just a couple of areas. On July 4, 1901, the post of Military Governor was disestablished and William H. Taft assumed the role as Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands, and Chaffee relived MacArthur in charge of the U.S. Army's Philippine Division. Secretary of War, Elihu Root, made it clear to Chaffee that his primary task was to divorce the army from its civil functions and restore military efficiency. Four years of imperial warfare had cost the army thousands of veterans, badly trained recruits, and new officers whose experience was in civil government or small-unit command.³⁷⁵ In a rush to defeat the insurgency, the army had lost many of its seasoned

³⁷² MacArthur to AGWAR, Jan. 9, 1901, *ibid.*, 1244.

³⁷³ MacArthur to AGWAR, Feb. 2, 1901, *ibid.*, 1250. Corbin to MacArthur, Feb. 2, 1901, *idem.*, 1251.

³⁷⁴ Corbin to MacArthur, Feb. 9, 1901, *ibid.*, 1252.

³⁷⁵ Linn, 218.

veterans to wounds or death, hurried training for new recruits, and transformed itself into a counter-insurgency force, and the army leadership wanted to reverse this trend.

Chaffee's first act was to reorganize the army by abolishing the department-district system. He instead divided the Philippines into the Department of Northern Philippines (Luzon) and Southern (everything else), and within these two departments he created "separate brigades". In regards to pacification, he made few changes to a policy that was already successful. In September he ushered in the army's premier counter-insurgency expert, Brig. General J. Franklin Bell, to clean up the Province of Batangas. And after the September 28, 1901, Balangiga massacre on Samar, Chaffee would assign Brigadier General Jacob H. Smith to the island. Both Bell and Smith would later be accused of atrocities and army misconduct that would tarnish the reputation of the army forever and led to a Senate inquiry. But on July 4, 1902, their extreme measures enabled President Roosevelt to declare an end to the insurrection.³⁷⁶

B. CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

Back on June 3, 1900, William H. Taft arrived as part of 2nd Philippine Commission. As president of the commission, he was charged with establishing municipal and provincial governments and supervision of the transfer of power from military to civilian rule. In September 1900, the commission had assumed legislative duties for the archipelago, and as provinces were declared pacified and safe by the army, they were turned over to the commission. Unfortunately, both viewed each other with indignation. While after July 4, 1901, Taft was to exercise executive authority in all civil affairs previously held by the military governor, the commanding general of the Philippine division would exercise control of districts in which the insurrection continued. The Commission quickly assumed responsibility for civil governments, and despite objections of field commanders, on July 20, 1901, 23 formally hostile provinces were transferred to the commission.³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ Linn, 219; Corbin, Jul 17, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1289; Ward to Chaffee, Jul. 23, 1901, *idem*, 1290.

³⁷⁷ Linn, 216-217; William McKinley, Jun. 21, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1286.

While Taft and Otis and MacArthur were not known for agreeing or compromising with each other, Chaffee and Taft were a different matter, but that may be mostly to do with President Theodore Roosevelt who assumed the presidency on September 14, 1901. On October 6, 1901, Roosevelt wrote both concerning a disagreement between Chaffee and Taft over the legality concerning deserters from the army. He wrote that “I am deeply chagrined to use the mildest possible term, over the trouble between yourself and Taft. I wish you to see him personally and spare no effort to secure prompt and friendly agreement in regard to the differences between you. Have cabled him also. It is most unfortunate to have any action taken which produces friction and which may have serious effect both in the Philippines and here at home. I trust implicitly that you and Taft will come to agreement.”³⁷⁸ While this demonstrates a problem with the civil-military affairs within the islands; except for a few problems encountered around Samar, the transition from military to civil progressed smoothly.

C. THE NAVY

In his annual report for the year, 1901, the Secretary of the Navy restated what had been basically put forth for the previous two years: “the vessels of this squadron (Asiatic), detailed for service in Philippine waters, have been employed in cooperating with our military forces, in maintaining an effective patrol of the various islands, and in preventing the insurgents from receiving supplies of arms.”³⁷⁹ The navy continued to use the same patrol stations as was adopted the previous year (see page 64), designated by respective headquarters as Vigan, Iloilo, Cebu, and Zamboanga.³⁸⁰ It remained the gunboat that held the lion’s share of responsibilities for conducting operations in the Philippines. For the month of January 1901, the distribution of vessels on Asiatic Station looked similar to previous months (see table 3).³⁸¹

³⁷⁸ Theodore Roosevelt to Chaffee, Oct. 8, 1901, *ibid.*, 1297.

³⁷⁹ Navy Department, *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Year 1901* (Washington: GPO, 1901), 3.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 440-441.

³⁸¹ CINC Asiatic to Bureau of Navigation, “Report of Distribution and Employment of Vessels, January 1901”, undated; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

Of all the gunboats within the navy, all were on Asiatic Station. The Asiatic Station had during its peak in 1901: 18 gunboats and 15 small gunboats.

Table 3. Distribution of Vessels on Asiatic Station for January 1901

SHIP	LOCALITY	EMPLOYMENT
<i>Brooklyn</i> (Armored Cruiser)	Manila	Flagship
<i>Newark</i> (Protected Cruiser)	Cavite	Flagship
<i>Albany</i> (Protected Cruiser)	Hong Kong	Repairs
<i>Bennington</i> (Gunboat)	Hong Kong	Repairs
<i>Castine</i> (Gunboat)	Iloilo	Station vessel
<i>Concord</i> (Gunboat)	Samar, Cebu, Mindanao	Cooperating w/Army
<i>Don Juan de Austria</i> (Gunboat)	Cebu, Samar, Leyte	“ “
<i>Helena</i> (Gunboat)	Shanghai	Protecting U.S. interests, Repairs
<i>Isla de Cuba</i> (Gunboat)	Samar, Cavite	Patrolling, Repairs
<i>Isla de Luzon</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite, Hong Kong	Repairs
<i>Manila</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Repairs
<i>Marietta</i> (Gunboat)	Zamboanga	Patrol, Station ship
<i>Monadnock</i> (Monitor)	Hong Kong, Amoy, Shanghai	Repairs, Protecting U.S. interests
<i>Monocacy</i> (Gunboat)	Taku	Station Vessel
<i>Monterey</i> (Monitor)	Canton	Protection U.S. interests
<i>Nashville</i> (Gunboat)	Nagasaki	Repairs
<i>New Orleans</i> (Protected Cruiser)	Chefoo, Nagasaki	Protection of U.S. interests
<i>Oregon</i> (Battleship)	Woosung	Protection of U.S. interests
<i>Petrel</i> (Gunboat)	Southeastern Luzon	Patrolling, cooperating w/army
<i>Princeton</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Repairs
<i>Yorktown</i> (Gunboat)	Vigan station	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Gardoqui</i> (Gunboat)	Subig Bay	Guard vessel
<i>Urdaneta</i> (Gunboat)	Subig Bay	Guard Vessel
<i>Arayat</i> (Gunboat)	Cebu, Samar, S.E. Luzon	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Basco</i> (Gunboat)	Manila Bay	Guard Vessel, cooperating
<i>Calamianes</i> (Gunboat)	Zamboanga Station	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Callao</i> (Gunboat)	Zamboanga Station	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Leyte</i> (Gunboat)	Iloilo	Surveying harbor
<i>Mindoro</i> (Gunboat)	Samar	Patrolling illicit traffic,

SHIP	LOCALITY	EMPLOYMENT
		cooperating w/army
<i>Pampanga</i> (Gunboat)	Cebu, Samar	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Panay</i> (Gunboat)	Samar, Cebu	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Paragua</i> (Gunboat)	Panay	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Quiros</i> (Gunboat)	Vigan Station	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Samar</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite, Zamboanga	Repairs, Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>Villalobos</i> (Gunboat)	Samar, Cebu, Panay	Patrolling illicit traffic, cooperating w/army
<i>General Alava</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Repairs
<i>Albay</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Out of Commission, Repairs
<i>Balusan</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Out of Commission, Repairs
<i>Elcano</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Out of Commission, Repairs
<i>Manileno</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Out of Commission, Repairs
<i>Mariveles</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Out of Commission, Repairs
<i>Mindanao</i> (Gunboat)	Cavite	Out of Commission, Repairs

Ships that served in China during the Boxer Rebellion in the previous year, and which had no part in any hostile operations, had begun returning to the Philippines by October 1900. The *Monterey* and *Monadnock*, stationed at Canton and Shanghai respectively, had no utility except as receiving ships, “they were only a burden before”. By the end of the year (1901), with the insurgency diminishing, it was hoped to send two gunboats to the North Atlantic Station, one to the Pacific, and commission two more for use in the Caribbean.³⁸² The Asiatic Station grew to its greatest strength in May 1901 and consisted of 2 battleships, 2 armored cruisers, 3 protected cruisers, 2 monitors, 18 gunboats, 16 small gunboats, and 4 small gunboats not in commission or under repair. The eventual decline of the insurrection later in 1901 lead to a reduction in force (see table 4). The gunboats *El Cano*, *Mindanao*, and *Bulusan* were not completed nor

³⁸² Navy, *Annual Reports for 1901*, 506, 611, 924-939.

commissioned during 1901 and the *Bulusan* was eventually condemned by survey and stricken from the list.³⁸³

In his semi-annual report for 1901, ending December 31, 1901, Rear Admiral Frederick Rodgers reported from the Philippines that due to the belief by the War Department that the insurrection was on the decline in July 1901, the vessels *Bennington*, *Petrel*, *Newark*, *Marietta*, *Concord*, *Castine*, *Oregon*, *Culgoa*, *Albany*, and *Nashville* had left the station.

Table 4. Asiatic Station Ship Strength for Fiscal Year 1901

SHIP CLASS	BEGINNING OF YEAR	MAXIMUM STRENGTH	END OF YEAR
Battleship	1	2	1
Cruisers (a)	3	5	4
Monitors	2	2	2
Gunboats (b)	28	33	27
(a) Includes armored and protected cruisers.			
(b) Includes gunboats and small gunboats			

The rest of the squadron remained employed patrolling the coasts in suppressing illicit traffic, and cooperating with the army in convoying and transporting troops. Because of the breakout of hostilities on Samar, all vessels possible were concentrated there. He wrote that the principle item of food was rice, which was not grown in sufficient quantity to support the population on Samar, so the *insurrectos* attempted to take hemp, which grows in abundance, across to Leyte, to barter for rice and smuggle it back into Samar. The importance of the gunboats was in maintaining a strict blockade to prevent the egress of hemp and the ingress of rice to the insurgents.³⁸⁴

As for the organization of Asiatic Station, it saw a number of changes during the year. On May 1, 1901, Rear Admiral Frederick Rodgers arrived on Asiatic Station and assumed duty at senior-squadron commander with Rear Admiral Louis Kempff becoming

³⁸³ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, "Annual Report 1901", Aug. 13, 1901; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

³⁸⁴ Frederick Rodgers to CINC Asiatic, Jan. 11, 1902; *ibid.*

junior-squadron commander. Rear Admiral George C. Remey remained the Commander-in-Chief of Naval Forces on Asiatic Station until March 1, 1902, when Rodgers assumed the position.³⁸⁵ Rear Admiral Frank Wildes served as senior squadron commander until April 27, 1902, when Rear Admiral Robley D. Evans reported as senior squadron commander and Wildes assumed junior. Kempff, once relieved, left the Asiatic Station.

On August 27, 1901, under Fleet General Order Number 13, the Asiatic Station was divided into a Northern Squadron, consisting of all naval forces outside Philippine waters, and a Southern Squadron, consisting of all naval forces in the Philippine Islands.³⁸⁶ The senior squadron commander, aboard his flagship in Manila Bay, was placed in charge of all naval forces in the Philippines and the junior squadron commander, aboard his flagship off Taku, was placed in charge of all other naval forces. The commander-in-chief oversaw both, and spent his time cruising aboard his flagship between Japan, China, and the Philippines. As the insurgency ended by mid-1902, the Navy Department was looking for a more permanent arrangement of vessels. The plan proposed was to divide the station into three squadrons, a battleship squadron consisting of the *Kentucky*, *Oregon*, *Wisconsin*, *Monadnock*, and *Monterey*, a cruiser squadron of the *New Orleans*, *Yorktown*, *Wilmington*, *Helena*, *Vicksburg*, *Princeton*, *Annapolis*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Isla de Cuba*, and a gunboat squadron.³⁸⁷

In 1902, the southern squadron had been actively engaged in cruising and patrolling, cooperating with the army, but that with the final surrenders on Samar, withdrawal of several of the small gunboats was finally allowed as the southern squadron had transferred from Samar to off Mindanao. Rodgers asserted that the “suppression of the insurrection in the island of Samar and the surrenders connected therewith are due as much, if not more, to the work of the navy about the coast.” As evidence, he used an extract from the cruising report of Lieutenant Commander H. P. Huse of the *Villalobos* concerning the dependence of Samar natives on rice and fish, the gunboats efforts in

³⁸⁵ Navy, *Annual Reports for 1901*, 505.

³⁸⁶ CINC Asiatic, “Fleet General Order Number 13”, Aug. 27, 1901, AF 10, RG 45, NAB.

³⁸⁷ Navy, *Annual Reports of the Navy Department for the Fiscal year 1902* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902), 392-393.

cutting off both created a starvation that the army said to have forced the surrender of the insurgents on Samar. He (Huse) stated: “The Navy has not played a secondary part in the suppression of the insurrection. Its work has been at least as important and effective as that of the Army.”³⁸⁸

D. THE INSURGENTS

1901 saw time run out for the insurgents. They had rested much of their hope in the previous year on the American elections and believed that Bryan’s win would mean their independence, but that never came to pass. ³⁸⁹ Aguinaldo’s system of guerilla warfare was not working. The insurgents had to keep the people with them, either by making them feel their cause was theirs or making them fear their punishment more than the Americans. This policy began to fail because people grew wary of the exactions and abuses by guerillas, which drove them into making common cause with Americans.³⁹⁰

In response to the new harsher approach of the Americans in dealing with the insurgents and treating them as common criminals, Aguinaldo, on January 17, 1901, protested against MacArthur and declared that in self-defense, Filipinos would exchange Americans for Filipinos sentenced to death. If not exchanged, the insurgents would resort to reprisals, meaning executing their American prisoners as was being done by U.S. forces to some captured insurgents. Aguinaldo was deplored that his officers were being court martialed as leaders of bandits and as assassins.³⁹¹ Furthermore, the insurgent committee in Manila, previously active in levying taxes on hemp, was deported along with other insurgent supporters to Guam. Slowly, the insurgent support base was being eroded. For Aguinaldo, he had graver threats to face in the opening months of 1901.³⁹²

E. FALL OF THE GENERALS

1. Luzon

It was on the main island of Luzon that the war would be won or lost. The island contained half of the archipelago’s population, it was the richest and most economically

³⁸⁸ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, May 26, 1902; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

³⁸⁹ Emilio Aguinaldo, letter to Filipinos, Aug., 1900, Taylor, 5: 117.

³⁹⁰ Taylor, 2: 303-304.

³⁹¹ Emilio Aguinaldo, Jan. 17, 1901, Taylor, 5: 136-139.

³⁹² Taylor, 2: 329.

diverse, it held the capital, and it was the home of Aguinaldo and the ethnic Tagologs that comprised the core of the resistance. For these reasons, Luzon continued to draw the greatest amount of American attention. While operations continued throughout the archipelago, the mainstay of operations centered on Luzon until their decline by mid-1901.

After MacArthur's December 1900, proclamation (G.O. 100), Brigadier General Wheaton, district commander in northern Luzon, began implementing harsher tactics, using imprisonment, confiscation of crops, destruction of fields and buildings, and forced resettlement of the population. At the same time the army took the offensive, troops pursued the insurgents about the countryside in continuous expeditions. By mid-May 1901, tired and beaten, 12,000 guerillas surrendered, turning in 6,000 rifles, and Wheaton declared his district pacified.³⁹³ Elsewhere in Northern Luzon, Brigadier General Young of the 1st District came to the conclusion that his benevolent civic action programs were not having the pacifying effect he was seeking. During the previous year he had overseen the establishment of 203 schools, had built roads, and formed municipal governments, but after repeated attacks by insurgents, he was ready for a change in policy. Beginning in 1901, he requested and received authorization, under G.O. 100, for a policy of blanket repression, retaliation, relocation or expulsion of civilians from hostile zones, devastation of crops and homes, and summary execution of guerillas.³⁹⁴

As part of a more rigid policy, MacArthur desired to deport prominent insurgent leaders to Guam. On January 16, 1901, 32 insurgents were deported for Guam aboard the navy vessel *Solace*.³⁹⁵ One such deportee was Apolinario Mabini, a staunch nationalist and advisor to Aguinaldo. Deported in 1901 to Guam, he wrote *La Revolución Filipina* while in exile, and refused to take the oath of allegiance to the United States. He was only allowed back to the Philippines shortly before his death in 1903. While this may seem a cruel measure, MacArthur wrote that he (Mabini) was a most active agitator, persistently

³⁹³ Linn, 255.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., 258-262.

³⁹⁵ CINC Asiatic to *Solace*, Jan. 22, 1901; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

and defiantly refusing amnesty, and maintaining correspondence with insurgents in the field while living in Manila, his exile was considered “absolutely essential”³⁹⁶

The single most important event in Northern Luzon for the year and possibly for the entire insurrection was the capture of Aguinaldo on March 28, 1901, by Brigadier General Funston at Palanan, Isabela Province, Northern Luzon. Acting on intelligence received from surrendering insurgent soldiers, Funston organized an expedition to capture the most famous Filipino of the time.³⁹⁷ Leading an expedition consisting of a captured insurgent messenger, four ex-insurgent officers, seventy-eight Macabebe scouts (natives from the Province of Macabebe in Northern Luzon, and bitter enemies of the Tagalogs), and four U.S. Army officers (dressed as American army privates and representing prisoners) they set sail under secrecy on March 6, 1901, from Manila aboard the gunboat *Vicksburg*.³⁹⁸ Under cover of darkness on a “thick and squally” morning, the party landed in the early hours of March 14, 1901, at the entrance of Casiguran Bay, on the coast of Luzon.³⁹⁹ Marching in uninhabitable terrain, the expedition reached Palanan on the 23rd. Using the perfectly orchestrated deceptive plan of Funston, the disguised American force walked into Aguinaldo’s camp and captured the Filipino president and military commander. Meeting at the predesignated site of Palanan Bay, the *Vicksburg* rendezvoused with Funston’s party on March 25, 1901. Under rough seas and high winds, the navy extracted the army and on the morning of March 28, 1901, steamed into Manila with its prize of Don Emilio Aguinaldo.⁴⁰⁰ In a letter to MacArthur, General Funston said:

Too much praise cannot be given the officers and men of the *Vicksburg* for the invaluable service rendered the expedition by that vessel. Every suggestion or request that I [Funston] made to Commander Barry was complied with fully. He navigated his vessel fearlessly along the dangerous and inaccurately charted east coast of Luzon, running up the

³⁹⁶ AGWAR to MacArthur, Dec. 26, 1900, *Correspondence*, 1238; MacArthur to AGWAR, Jan. 17, 1901, *idem*, 1247; MacArthur to AGWAR, Jan. 26, 1901, *idem*, 1248.

³⁹⁷ Frederick Funston, *Memories of Two Wars: Cuban and Philippine Experiences* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1911), 384-385.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 390-398.

³⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 404-409.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 423-426.

narrow Casiguran Bay on a dark and squally night and disembarking the expedition so quickly and so quietly that its presence was not suspected by the natives. The task of re-embarking the expedition at Palanan Bay through heavy surf was of the same high order.⁴⁰¹

MacArthur had hoped that the capture of Aguinaldo would lead to the speedy cessation of hostilities throughout the archipelago.⁴⁰² But, while Aguinaldo took the oath of allegiance to the United States on April 1, 1901, and wrote a proclamation advising his subordinates to give up the struggle and accept the sovereignty of the United States, MacArthur's hopes were not fully realized.⁴⁰³ Within six weeks after Aguinaldo's capture, all but two major insurgent leaders remained in the field: General Vicente Lukban on Samar and General Miguel Malvar in Batangas. But as will be shown, these two individuals were persistent in their efforts to resist American occupation, and they would continue the conflict for another year.⁴⁰⁴ Records in fact show that Aguinaldo was little in touch with the insurgency from the beginning of guerilla warfare on November 13, 1899, to his capture on March 23, 1901. In essence, he had only become a figurehead of the insurrection and was no longer a director.⁴⁰⁵ Symbolic or not, Aguinaldo's capture appeared to provide a reason for the majority of the insurgency's leaders to surrender.

Insurgent General Licerio Geronimo, whose men were credited with killing General Lawton, surrendered on March 29, 1901. He commanded the Province of Bulacan, north of Manila, and surrendered 12 officers, 29 men, and 30 guns.⁴⁰⁶ On April 30, 1901, General Tinio, commanding the whole of Northern Luzon, surrendered. With the two general's surrender, hostilities in Northern Luzon came to a close.⁴⁰⁷

In Southern Luzon, the story of surrender was much the same; except in the province of Batangas, which will be covered later. By early 1901, the army's constant

⁴⁰¹ Frederick Funston to SECNAV, undated; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁰² MacArthur to AGWAR, Mar. 28, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1262-1263; Corbin to MacArthur, Mar. 29, 1901, *ibid.*, 1263.

⁴⁰³ MacArthur to AGWAR, Apr. 1, 1901, *ibid.*, 1265.

⁴⁰⁴ Funston, 427-428.

⁴⁰⁵ Taylor, 2: 313.

⁴⁰⁶ MacArthur to AGWAR, Mar. 30, 1901, *ibid.*, 1264.

⁴⁰⁷ MacArthur to AGWAR, Apr. 30, 1901, *ibid.*, 1274.

pursuit and navy's blockade had made the insurgent's position desperate. As the insurgents became increasingly harsh with the local population and made ever increasing demands, the population was forced to return to the coastal towns and turned to the army for food and protection.⁴⁰⁸ Without its support base, the insurgency in southern Luzon crumbled. On March 11, 1901, insurgent General Mariano de Dios surrendered at Naic, handing over Cavite Province to American control.⁴⁰⁹ Lieutenant General Mariano Trias, the last insurgent of the rank of Lieutenant General and commanding all of Southern Luzon, surrendered over two hundred well armed men on March 15, 1901 to Brigadier General John C. Bates.⁴¹⁰

Part of the Department of Southern Luzon was the island of Marinduque. Major Smith, commanding Marinduque, instituted a policy of concentration: ordering all natives into five principle towns and claiming all people outside these towns would be considered insurgents. Smith enlisted the aid of the navy in blockading the island as he sought to starve the insurgents into submission. Upon hearing of these harsh measures, through the press, Washington inquired into whether there was any truth to the allegations. MacArthur responded that it was correct, and Smith's actions were effective in suppressing the insurrection there which had proved obstinate.⁴¹¹ On April 15, 1901, insurgent Colonel Abad, surrendered to Major Smith, ending the insurgency on Marinduque.⁴¹²

With the combination of surrenders, captures, and expulsions of the insurgency's top leadership and the decreasing support of the population, the insurgency began a downward spiral. On March 23, 1901, General Capistrano surrendered, and on April 6, 1901, General Theodoro Sandico. Insurgent General Natividad surrendered on May 8, 1901, and General Tomas Mascardo on May 15, 1901. Generals Alejandrino and Lakuna surrendered in late May, and General Juan Cailles (Laguna Province) surrendered on

⁴⁰⁸ Linn, 280-281.

⁴⁰⁹ MacArthur to AGWAR, Mar. 11, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1258.

⁴¹⁰ MacArthur to AGWAR, Mar. 16, 1901, *ibid.*, 1259.

⁴¹¹ Corbin to MacArthur, Mar. 19, 1901, *ibid.*, 1260; MacArthur to AGWAR, Mar. 22, 1901, *idem*, 1261.

⁴¹² MacArthur to AGWAR, Apr. 17, 1901, *ibid.*, 1269.

June 24, 1901.⁴¹³ On May 3, 1901, General MacArthur transmitted to Washington that 40,000 American troops would be needed to be maintained in the islands, 30,000 less troops than at the beginning of 1901.⁴¹⁴

2. The Visayas

The Department of the Visayas, headquartered at Iloilo City, Panay, and commanded by Brigadier General Hughes, oversaw 25,300 square miles and a population of 2.5 million, with 8,600 U.S. soldiers. Formulating and instituting a coherent pacification policy for such an expansive and complex area presented an awesome challenge. Hughes considered the island of Panay the most important island. Beginning in December 1899, Hughes had been fighting against an insurgent force under General Delgado; during 1900 he led expeditions in large-scale sweeps into the interior. By late 1900, with food shortages, more effective counterinsurgency methods, and abuses and exactions by revolutionaries, the insurgent had alienated their popular support.⁴¹⁵ In 1901, U.S. troops on Panay burned property and physically abused Filipinos, retaliatory practices legal under G.O. 100. The army on Panay practiced wholesale destruction of the countryside, destroying crops, boats, houses, and any centers of resistance. On an island that was already suffering from livestock disease, food shortages, and drought, the American policy forced the guerilla depredations on the populace to increase.⁴¹⁶ But it was actually well before MacArthur's G.O. 100 proclamation, that army officers on Panay recognized the causal link between the guerillas and the towns. The army on Panay under Hughes had instituted harsh policies early on and conducted investigations to break up collection networks among the populace, a practice that succeeded in Iloilo. By the end of 1900, negotiations and unremitting military pressure swung balance in favor of the United States. On February 2, 1901, General Delgado surrendered on the request of his

⁴¹³ Kalaw, 274-275.

⁴¹⁴ MacArthur to AGWAR, May 3, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1275.

⁴¹⁵ Linn, 241-246.

⁴¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 249.

subordinates.⁴¹⁷ Hostilities on Panay concluded on March 22, 1901, when the last remaining insurgents surrendered.⁴¹⁸

Leyte, was an island in the Military Department of the Visayas. Relatively small in comparison with its neighbor Samar (Department of Southern Luzon), Leyte had a rather large population. The island was divided by high mountain ranges and separated from Samar by a very narrow strait. The one unique aspect of Leyte, unlike its neighboring islands, was that enough food was grown on the island to sustain the native population, a factor that would come into play in the struggle for Samar. Leading the insurgent struggle on the island was General Ambrosio Mojica, and his opposing counterpart was Colonel Arthur Murray. Initially overextended, the army, harassed by guerilla bands, sought reconciliation through civic action and municipal government. But, by the fall of 1900, Murray adopted harsher measures. He offered good treatment to those who moved within occupied zones, began restricting food transfer into the countryside, and proposed total destruction of the rice crop in unoccupied areas. Of course in their efforts, the army was assisted by the navy.

On February 27, 1901, 1st Lieutenant Richard W. Buchanan of the 44th infantry expressed gratitude for the assistance of the gunboat *Petrel* in subduing a group of insurgents along the Pagsangaan River, near the town of Ormoc, Leyte. The navy was engaged in cooperating with the army garrison at Ormoc to find and destroy a large *cuartel* (Spanish word for military barracks) located among mangrove swamps and only accessible by boat. But upon arrival, the force found the insurgents waiting in an ambush, but with their superior firepower (gunboat) the insurgents fled. The *cuartel* was never found, and was most likely the failed attempt by the insurgents to kill Americans in an ambush, but thanks to the navy, this was averted.⁴¹⁹

Because of harsh tactics and the navy's blockade, on May 18, 1901, Insurgent General Ambrosio Mojica of Leyte surrendered with forty-three officers and 1,386 men

⁴¹⁷ Ibid., 253-254.

⁴¹⁸ MacArthur to AGWAR, Mar. 19, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1260; MacArthur to AGWAR, Mar. 22, 1901, *idem*, 1261.

⁴¹⁹ Richard Buchanan to *Petrel*, Feb. 27, 1901; AF 10; RG 45; NAB: *Petrel* to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 28, 1901; *ibid*.

to American officers.⁴²⁰ While the insurgency on Leyte ceased, it did not prevent the Filipinos on Leyte from aiding the efforts on neighboring Samar. Smuggling rice across the San Juanico Straits to Samar was a very lucrative business.⁴²¹ This trade in turn exacerbated the problem between Murray and Hughes and the Navy. As Murray switched to a less strict pacification policy, he opened all the ports on Leyte, and as will be discussed in great detail in the next section, this severely eroded the pacification efforts on Samar. The navy continued to enforce a strict blockade and to burn and confiscate boats and cargo from Leyte. Murray was so furious at one point that he threatened to open fire on the navy's gunboats. But interestingly, Murray stated that, "Kindness and consideration I regret to say appear to me largely if not wholly unappreciated by these people, who seem to regard our lenient and humane treatment as an evidence of weakness on our part". The problem was that Murray had little understanding of the insurgency. His initial efforts of appeasement did not work, so he adopted stricter measures, which appeared to work. The problem was that while the fighting subsided, the populace continued to support the insurgency in Samar. It was not till later that Leyte would be truly pacified.⁴²²

Elsewhere in the archipelago, on February 1, 1901, the insurgent commander of the island of Masbate informed general Lukban that conditions on the island were hard. Rice was prohibited by the blockade, and the only food was provided by the Americans to the people. The insurgents, hiding in the hills had to contend with the bandits, were stronger than the insurgents.⁴²³ On March 29, 1901, Mindanao insurgent General Capistrano surrendered, ending trouble in Mindanao.⁴²⁴ Similar to the situation on Masbate, Capistrano faced a hostile Moro population, had it not been for the Americans, the Tagalog insurgents on Mindanao would have been overrun. In a cruising report from the gunboat *Calamianes*, she was requested to assist the army on the island of Negros. Intelligence had been received by the army indicating that insurgents were garrisoned at

⁴²⁰ Imperial, 127.

⁴²¹ Taylor, 2; 443.

⁴²² Linn, 234-240.

⁴²³ Taylor, 2: 372-373.

⁴²⁴ MacArthur to AGWAR, Mar. 29, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1263-1264.

San Matao with three canons and 30 rifles. On Feb 26, 1901, the gunboat embarked a company of army troops, ascended the Agusan River, and destroyed the town and insurgent barracks.⁴²⁵

F. THE PERSISTENT ONES (LUCKBAN AND MALVAR)

Back on April 30, 1901, MacArthur reported that except for insurgents in southern Luzon under Malvar, and on Samar under Lukban, the insurrection was practically suppressed throughout the archipelago.⁴²⁶ As Taft and Chaffee took power on July 4, 1901, it was again reported that the insurrection was almost entirely suppressed. The only remaining resistance was in the province of Batangas, and islands of Samar, Cebu, and Bohol. While army and navy efforts were directed towards these areas, it was not until October 1901, that the most vigorous operations would be launched. In Batangas, Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell was brought in to crush insurgent General Miguel Malvar. General Chaffee had first tried negotiations, but when those failed, Bell began operations which would result in the surrender of Malvar on April 16, 1902.⁴²⁷ On Samar the situation became dire after the massacre of American troops at Balangiga, and Brigadier General Jacob Smith was brought in to combat Lukban. After one of the most controversial campaigns of the U.S. army in the Philippines, Lukban was finally captured within the first months of 1902.⁴²⁸

The majority of the Philippines had been pacified by mid-1901. People were becoming increasingly tired of the conflict; they had endured a hard life with constant warfare dating to the Philippine Revolution against the Spanish from 1897 followed by the Spanish-American War, and then the Philippine Insurrection. Added to the normal hardships of war were endemic outbreaks of malaria and cholera, and render pest (a livestock disease) which decimated the native caribou (water buffalo) population. As the last remaining insurgents were forced to extract more and more from their support base,

⁴²⁵ Calamianes to CINC Asiatic, Mar. 2, 1901; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴²⁶ MacArthur to AGWAR, Apr. 30, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1273.

⁴²⁷ Taylor, 2: 286-288.

⁴²⁸ Division of Insular Affairs, U.S. War Department, *Report of the United States Philippine Commission to the Secretary of War for the Period from December 1, 1900 to October 15, 1901* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1901), 7.

the populace, the Americans adopted their harshest methods of the insurrection in the fall of 1901.

3. Batangas

The province of Batangas is located in Southern Luzon (see Figure 15) and was part of the Department of Southern Luzon. Insurgent general Miguel Malvar, commanding forces in Batangas, was one of the most capable and popular supported generals. While he employed a strategy of attrition, the Americans began to substitute coercion for conciliation in 1901. Villagers were forced to move into garrisoned towns as there began a growing tendency toward the policy of “concentration”. In early 1901, with the assistance of navy gunboats, the army began landing at previously inaccessible coastal valleys, making small raids that pushed into the interior. The result, as previously mentioned, was that on March 15, 1901, General Trias, overall in charge of the entire Southern Luzon insurgent forces, staff, and 200 soldiers, surrendered, but not General Malvar.⁴²⁹

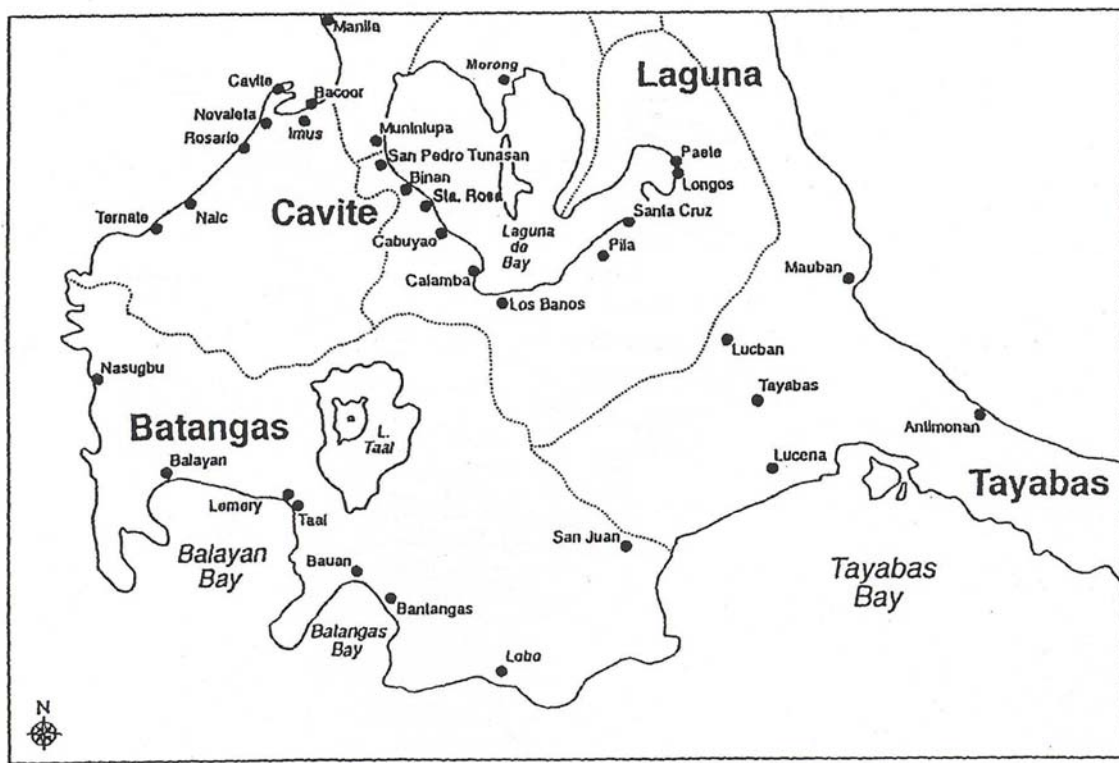


Figure 15. Batangas Province (Linn, *The Philippine War*, 163)

⁴²⁹ Linn, 293-295.

A civil government was sworn in at Batangas on May 2, 1901, but on July 20, 1901, the commission transferred partial control back to the American military. The Army declared a “state of insurrection” and suspended habeas corpus, used military courts and commissions, and placed civil authorities under military officers. When Taft and Chaffee relieved MacArthur, they wanted the war to end and were increasingly willing to sanction drastic measures. To quell the growing resistance in Batangas, the choice of field officers, Taft and Chaffee was Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell. On November 19, 1901, Bell was ordered to replace General Sumner and took charge on the 30th. Bell crafted one of the most coherent and well organized pacification campaigns of war. He sought not only to separate the guerrillas from the population, but to force the population to help America. Anyone who did not openly oppose insurgents (collect weapons, denounce spies and agents, identify guerrillas, or participate in operations) would be considered as hostile. He escalated food deprivation and destruction, burned and carried away hundreds of tons of rice and livestock, and continuously raided against the insurgents.

Bell’s policy was one of “concentration” or “re-concentration”. A similar policy used by Spanish General Valeriano Weyler in Cuba that had created American opinion for favoring war with Spain. Using forced resettlement, on December 6, 1901, Bell ordered post commanders to establish protected zones, and after Christmas, anyone and anything outside these zones would be considered hostile and could be confiscated or destroyed, all males were to be arrested, or shot if escaping.

The results were immediate. Malvar attempted to take the offensive, but he was beaten back, and U.S. forces took the initiative. Army sweeps were joined by natives, voluntarily or under coercion. On December 23, 1901, conditions in Batangas were described as a “Hot time in Batangas”.⁴³⁰ January 14, 1902, insurgent Colonel Marasigan, commanding some of the forces under General Malvar, surrendered at Taal, Batangas, ending hostilities in the western third of province.⁴³¹ On April 16, 1902,

⁴³⁰ Chaffee to AGWAR, Dec. 25, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1306.

⁴³¹ Chaffee to AGWAR, Jan. 14, 1902, *ibid.*, 1310.

General Malvar, unconditionally surrendered to Brigadier General J. Franklin Bell, officially ending the insurgency on Luzon.⁴³²

The efforts of the army in Batangas were not alone. Aiding the army was the navy. On December 10, 1901, the ports of Batangas and Laguna were ordered closed to prevent the importation of food. As food began to run short, it became necessary for food to be imported by the navy into the army's protected zones. The navy blockaded the coasts and also oversaw the importation of foodstuffs.⁴³³ When General Malvar surrendered on April 16, 1902, many of his men were so sick from malnourishment, that they required medical attention.⁴³⁴ General Bell captured or forced the surrender of between 8,000-10,000 insurgents, but once they took the oath of allegiance to the U.S. they were set free, and by July 1902, there were no political prisoners in the region.⁴³⁵

The methods employed by General Bell were not new, not even within the United States. Brigadier General Thomas Ewing, commanding the district of the border (Kansas-Missouri), with Headquarters at Kansas City, MO, on August 25, 1863, days after Quantrill's Raiders burned Lawrence, Kansas, had ordered all inhabitants to relocate to within military stations within 15 days. He then order certain counties depopulated, and destroyed all forage and subsistence therein. All grain and hay was ordered taken to the stations, and if not convenient, it was burned. American commanders in the Philippines had not adopted a new method in dealing with guerillas, but simply employed an old one.⁴³⁶ Bell was aware of such a policy, from the Civil War, and came to the conclusion that the policy was needed.

Another aspect of Bell's policy was to destroy everything outside the army's protected zones through military expeditions. Using General Order 100 as legal justification, spies were executed and insurgents were treated and tried as robbers or pirates. On December 18, 1901, Corbin wrote, "I can't say how long it will take us to

⁴³² Chaffee to AGWAR, Apr. 1, 1902. *ibid.*, 1327.

⁴³³ Taylor, 2: 295.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, 2: 296.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*, 2: 296.

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2: 297.

beat Malvar into surrendering, and if no surrender, can't say how long it will take us to make a wilderness of that country, but one or the other will eventually take place". Bell had half of his 8,000 men in the field from January to April 1902. He launched 44 Expeditions; one expedition destroyed 500 tons of rice, hundreds of hogs and chickens, corn, 6,000 houses, 200 caribou, 800 cattle, and 680 horses.⁴³⁷

In another aspect of the campaign in Batangas was the army's small flotilla of gunboats. The gunboat *Napindan* was used to prevent insurgents, on Talim Island, situated on Laguna de Bay, from crossing over to Cavite on March 7, 1902.⁴³⁸ In a letter from Brigadier General J.F. Bell to the captain of *Napindan*, he explained that while instituting the policy of concentration, banca boats were allowed to bring palay (rice) into the towns and barrios controlled by the army until December 25, 1901, after which they should be destroyed for violating the concentration order.⁴³⁹ Reporting on January 1, 1901, the army gunboat *Laguna de Bay* reported that she had been engaged in patrolling the lake, transporting troops, and rendering assistance to the forces along the lake. She visited the small garrisons located on the lake and rendered assistance, and while troops were engaging insurgents, she would lie off in the vicinity and prevent their escape. In one such instance, she interdicted 16 Filipinos trying to escape on banca boats.⁴⁴⁰

In blockading Batangas, the efforts of the *Austria*, *Petrel*, *Basco*, and *Calamianes*, all operating in the most disturbed region, southeastern Luzon, proved to be of great value to the army.⁴⁴¹ Unfortunately, while the navy patrolled extensively along the southeastern coast of Luzon, there is very little detail given in the reports of the vessels. This is not to say that the navy did not contribute significantly, to the contrary, looking at the evidence of the navy in the surrounding areas, it seems virtually certain that the navy effectively blockaded Batangas and sealed the fate of the insurgents. The gunboat

⁴³⁷ Glen A. May, *Battle for Batangas: A Philippine Province at War* (Quezone City, PI: New Day Press, 1991), 253-255.

⁴³⁸ Major General Wheaton to gunboat *Napindan*, March 7, 1902; Entry 5779; RG 395; NAB.

⁴³⁹ J.F. Bell to *Napindan*, Dec. 14, 1901; Entry 5779; RG 395; NAB.

⁴⁴⁰ *Laguna de Bay* to Adjutant General Department of southern Luzon, Jan. 1, 1901; Entry 5773; RG 395; NAB.

⁴⁴¹ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Apr. 9, 1901; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

Mindoro, operating on Cebu Station was requested to aid the army garrison at Laon, Bohol, which was besieged by insurgents. Upon its arrival on May 10, 1901, the insurgents fled to the hills. From May 11-20, 1901, the gunboat patrolled the coast of Bohol destroying 27 bancos, and then on May 21, 1901, while returning to Cebu for coaling, she overhauled and destroyed 36 cascós (native canoes) off the coast of Batangas, which the captain viewed as used by the insurgents to receive supplies from the fishing vessels.⁴⁴²

In six months, Bell hounded and starved Malvar's army into submission and shattered the network of non-combatant support upon which the guerrillas relied upon. Using a policy of concentration, ironically similar to General Weyler in Cuba, civilians were isolated from the guerrillas by urging or coercing them (civilians) into protected zones. At the same time, this allowed the army to operate with minimal restraint outside of the protected zones.⁴⁴³ On April 16, 1902, Malvar wrote that he surrendered because the people of the towns induced him. The lack of food, owing to the policy of "concentration", and measures by General Bell created such suffering as to induce his surrender. American forces kept him constantly on the move, so that he found himself without a single gun or clerk.⁴⁴⁴

What transpired in Batangas is not necessarily something to be proud of. Thousands of Filipinos perished from famine and diseases, not caused by the Americans, but most assuredly worsened by Bell's policies. Nevertheless, the navy had an important role in these policies. It was the navy that assisted in creating a shortage of food by blockading the coastline. The navy also assisted the army in its ability to continually keep the insurgents on the run by landing raiding parties along the coast and accessing previously inaccessible areas. While these conditions may seem unthinkable by today's standards, the situation would prove equally if not worse on Samar.

4. Samar

⁴⁴² *Mindoro* to SSC, May 22, 1901; *ibid.*

⁴⁴³ May, 242-243.

⁴⁴⁴ Taylor, 5: 358.

Samar (see Figure16) presented four key hurdles to the American occupation of the island. First, outside of the island's coastal towns, the terrain was rugged with swamps, mountains, and jungles. All communications went by water, either along the coast or along one of the many rivers. Second, the island's chief crop was hemp, so the islands population depended upon the importation of food to subsist, but after years of war, drought, and the navy's blockade, the food shortage intensified among the islands 195,000 inhabitants. The third key factor was the insurgent general in charge of the island: Vicente Lukban. Lukban was a highly intelligent and capable general, well versed in the art of guerilla warfare. He also enjoyed mass support of the local population. Lastly, Samar is separated from Leyte by a very narrow channel. It was up to the Americans to turn the first two factors into advantages to enable the defeat of the last two, something U.S. Army and Navy forces accomplished in what has to be one of the bloodiest campaigns of the Philippine Insurrection.



Figure 16. Island of Samar

Pacification on Samar began in 1900. The army occupied the main ports of Catabogan and Calbayog in January 1900, during the Hemp Expedition. Major Henry T. Allan, initially commanding army forces on Samar, practiced a policy of benevolent

pacification. But like so many other commanders, over time he came to the conclusion, with the help of repeated attacks by Samarian bolomen, that conciliation was not working. On May 1900, MacArthur made Samar part of the Department of Southern Luzon, and in doing so inhibited the Department (Visayas) commander Hughes and Allan from instituting harsher methods.⁴⁴⁵ It would be a full year, until May 10, 1901, when MacArthur returned Samar back to the Department of the Visayas, that pacification began in earnest. In June 1901, General Hughes took personal command of operations on Samar against General Lukban.⁴⁴⁶ As American forces returned from China, the 9th Regiment, U.S. Infantry, was immediately sent to Samar for Hughes' battle with Lukban. At the same time, under urging from Hughes, MacArthur reported that it was a paramount military necessity to close all ports on Samar.⁴⁴⁷ During the army's struggle to pacify the island, the navy rendered valuable aid.

The gunboat *Arayat*, patrolling the straits between Samar and Leyte reported on their efforts to enforce the blockade from February 6-25, 1901. Visiting Colonel Murray, commanding Leyte, it was learned that the war was practically over in his district, 4th District of the Visayas. But the following day, February 7, 1901, a short distance away, the *Arayat* overhauled three boats loaded with rice and hemp. On February 9th, across the straits, the gunboat visited Katbologan and Colonel Hardin, commanding the 4th district of department of southern Luzon, Samar, in which he (Hardin) requested assistance in stopping illicit trade. On February 10th and 11th, the gunboat overhauled four bancas, one without papers; and all were allowed to proceed. It was noted that it was not often to find a boat without papers, as Leyte, under Murray, granted passes upon application to almost anywhere, including ports in Samar which was closed. This was how the illicit trade was carried out. On February 11, 1901, the *Arayat* overhauled nine more bancas, all with permits.

It was learned during these patrols that a signal fire system, between Samar and Leyte, had been perfected. Information of an approaching gunboat preceded the vessel by

⁴⁴⁵ Linn, 231-234

⁴⁴⁶ Taylor, 2: 434; MacArthur to AGWAR, May 10, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1276.

⁴⁴⁷ MacArthur to AGWAR, May 15, 1901, *ibid.*, 1278.

about ten to twenty miles in daylight, but a few 1-pdrs. tended to discourage this practice. On February 18, 1901, as the *Arayat* proceeded down along the Samar coast near the San Bernardino Straits, as usual, she was preceded by fifteen miles by signal fires. But about the town of Uari, she caught eight bancas, all carrying hemp from Samar to Luzon. The practice was to take hemp to Luzon and bring back money or rice, depending on if it was time for the insurgent tax collectors. On the 23rd the *Arayat* visited Murray again who said all was very quiet on Leyte. But when the gunboat visited Uasey, on Samar, the next day, she discovered a number of bancas with regular passes issued from Tacloban, Leyte. The master of one of these vessels, the *Anastacia*, admitted that since May 1900, he had been bringing out from Tacloban, Leyte, money and rice for the firm Mendosona & Company, and taking back hemp from Samar. He had never been interfered with by the army authorities on Leyte. The problem was not with the natives but with the army. The natives were trading in good faith with ports in another military district; the problem was that the Inspector at Tacloban, Leyte, had no right to clear vessels for ports in another district, Hardin's district on Samar.⁴⁴⁸

On May 14, 1901, the gunboat *Villalobos*, cruising off the west coast of Samar destroyed a 14-ton banca when it made for shore and the crew took to the woods, and later in the day destroyed an abandoned barota (native boat) which contained 350 pounds of rice. On May 15, 1901, the gunboat overhauled a banca heading for Samar; and it was determined that the papers, issued on Leyte, were executed with culpable carelessness by the customs authority, which did more harm than could be remedied by a fleet of gunboats. The following day, six barotas making for Samar turned back towards Leyte upon sighting the gunboat. One was abandoned in their haste, and the boat was found to contain 1,000 pounds of rice which was destroyed.⁴⁴⁹

As the situation on Samar worsened, the *Princeton*, senior officer present on Cebu Station, left Cebu for Samar, where the captain conferred with General Hughes on the disposition of the gunboats, *Villalobos*, *Mariveles*, *Pampanga*, *Don Juan de Austria*, and *Arayat*, which were all patrolling around the island. The plan was for the army to advance

⁴⁴⁸ *Arayat* to CINC Asiatic, Feb. 28, 1901; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁴⁹ *Villalobos* to CINC Asiatic, May 21, 1901; *ibid*.

into the interior, but to do so, communications and supplies would be provided by the navy's gunboats. The gunboats would also provide transportation and landing for the army. To aid the gunboats, so they would not have to go off station to coal at Cebu, a collier was requested to station off Samar, and one was sent.⁴⁵⁰

The *Villalobos*, reporting on her movements on May 21, 1901, contacted Hughes and learned of a new phase in the pacification of Samar, the plan was for the army to launch expeditions up the islands rivers to take the offensive against the insurgents. The Gandara, Gibatan, and Katubig rivers were navigable for 15 to 20 miles, and it was the desire of the army to keep a gunboat on each river, and along the west coast of Samar. The *Villalobos* informed the Senior Officer Present, *Princeton*, and was then dispatched to retrieve the *Don Juan de Austria*. Upon returning to Samar, the *Villalobos* sent the *Arayat* off the north coast, the *Pampanga* off the northwest coast, and took station herself off the Gandara River. It was the desire of Hughes to destroy all native boats on Samar. The gunboat *Mindoro* also took position off the Gandara River, and on June 3, 1901, the *Mariveles*, *Princeton*, and *Don Juan de Austria* arrived.⁴⁵¹

On July 22, 1902, the *Arayat*, operating with Major Smith on Samar, took a party of army soldiers up the Pambuhan River. The gunboat proceeded up the river for 12 miles and landed the army to reconnoiter the countryside and search for a possible site for establishing a camp for later. After finding a suitable site, the troops embarked and the gunboat proceeded down the river in late afternoon. While cruising down the river, insurgents launched an attack from the right bank of the river, sending rifle fire about the ship. The *Arayat* quickly returned fire and landed a small detachment of men (army and navy), and the insurgents were quickly routed. Having secured the area, the American troops once again embarked on the gunboat, and she started down the river once more, and after traveling two miles down stream, insurgents attacked again. This time the ship was able to silence the insurgents with the fire of her guns. By 7 p.m. that night the gunboat, and the embarked army troops, returned to the mouth of the river, at which point

⁴⁵⁰ *Princeton* to CINC Asiatic, Jun. 6, 1901; *ibid.*

⁴⁵¹ *Villalobos* to CINC Asiatic, Jun. 18, 1901; *ibid.*

an insurgent old brass canon opened fire from an old ruined church. The *Arayat's* main batteries quickly silenced the gun, and the vessel proceeded back to Laguan, Samar.⁴⁵²

For the month of July, the gunboat *Basco* provided aid to the army on the rivers of Samar. On July 1, 1901, the ship cooperated with Troop G, 10th Cavalry in destroying property along the Gandara River, and while laying at anchor on the same river on the 3rd, insurgents opened fire on the gunboat, for which the aft 1-pdr. was used to silence the insurgents. From July 4th to the 6th, the vessel ran supplies and dispatches for General Hughes, and on July 7, 1901, returned to aiding Troop G on the Gandara in searching for insurgents. On July 8, 1901, insurgents attacked the gunboat, and the ship opened up with both, fore and aft 1-pdrs. and her Colt automatics. Next, the *Basco* landed a small detachment of soldiers which while finding no insurgents, captured two loaded bamboo canons, for possession of which they destroyed 20 neighboring houses and 35 caribou. On July 13, 1901, the vessel reentered the river again, and on the 15th, cooperated with the 10th cavalry in destroying property along the river, and on the 17th was fired upon by some 25 insurgents at a range of 200 yards from a hill overhanging the river. While the gunboat was hit 10 times, no casualties or damage was reported, and a landing party of soldiers drove the insurgents back and destroyed their barracks located on the hill. On the 22nd she ferried the 1st infantry about Samar, and on the 24th and 25th again aided the 10th in destroying property about the river. From the 26th to the 30th the gunboat cooperated with the 9th infantry in destroying property about the swamps that lined the mouth of the river; in all they destroyed 70 houses, 9 tons of hemp, 100 caribou, 20 boats, and captured 3 bolomen.⁴⁵³

The gunboat *Arayat* continued assisting the army in its efforts on Samar on into August 1901. After an army launch was fired upon in the Katubig River on August 8, 1901, the gunboat *Arayat* (senior) sent the gunboat *Gardoqui* up the Tubig River to land an army detachment on the 9th, which was done successfully. Meanwhile the *Arayat* steamed around the east coast of Samar and was requested by the army commander at Oras to assist in sending an expedition up the Dolores River. On August 10, 1901, the

⁴⁵² LT W. R. Shoemaker (*Princeton*) to CINC Asiatic, Jul. 31, 1901; *ibid*.

⁴⁵³ *Basco* to CINC Asiatic, Jul. 31, 1901; *ibid*.

gunboat embarked a company of the 9th Infantry, consisting of a captain, surgeon, 40 men, and a native guide. Sounding the entrance, it was found that at high tide, the gunboat would be able to enter the river. She did, and landed the army to scour the countryside, but found only an abandoned town which had been already fired by the insurgents. Next, the expedition steamed 10 miles up the river and anchored for the night. On the 11th, the gunboat proceeded further up the river, landing the army at different points to destroy houses and anything else. But as the gunboat approached, the natives usually fired their homes as they fled, doing the army's work for them. After traveling 32 miles up the river, the expedition came to the town of Jinalasan, but again, it had already been burned by the natives. Being unable to precede further up the river, the gunboat sent a small party on further, eight miles, in the ship's boats, destroying some property. On August 12, 1901, the expedition began her return trip, having captured one native, two loaded rifles, two bolos (knives), and destroying much property. Again, as she had done on her way up, she landed men at different points to scour and destroy property along the river. Returning to Oras on August 13, 1901, the expedition found that during their expedition up the Dolores River, some 200 natives had been frightened out of the area and had come to Oras, bringing their household effects, apparently to stay. The *Arayat* arrived at the port of Laguan on August 16, 1901, and found out from several natives that in the attack on the *Arayat* back on May 31, 1901, along the Tubig River, fifteen insurgents had been killed by her fire, presumably her 6-pdr.⁴⁵⁴

On September 6, 1901, the Gunboat *Arayat* arrived at the port of Laguan, and received word from the garrison commander that about 4,000 people now occupied the town, and that they had been receiving a steady flow of natives for over two weeks. The neighboring town of Palapa had grown to over 800 people. Several expeditions, launched up rivers as previously discussed, had resulted in the destruction of much property. The garrison commander hoped that more people would come in as the rice in the hills was exhausted. Unfortunately, signs of a famine were beginning to show among the population, and the soldiers at Laguan had to send daily expeditions to collect rice to feed

⁴⁵⁴ W.R. Shoemaker (*Princeton*), "Extract from Report of Operations of USS *Arayat*, dated Aug. 31, 1901"; *ibid*.

the people. The caribou, that was vital to the cultivation of rice, had all either been shot by the U.S. army or died of disease. Upon returning to the port of Calbayoc, the gunboat learned of the Balangiga massacre (which will be discussed later). Immediately, the gunboat received word, from the Senior Officer Present at Cebu and from General Hughes, to proceed to southern Samar and notify the army posts at once of the massacre. The gunboat ran the straits and proceeded to notify the posts at Tacloban, Guinan, and on Sept 20, 1901, the post at Pambuban. The garrison at Pambuban was immediately put into defensive positions and withdrawn from the town, and the surrounding structures cleared out. A fresh rifle pit was discovered in one of the buildings that commanded a house in which the army had been previously quartered. And when townspeople were asked to move from certain houses, they asked to leave the town completely; indicating their awareness of Balangiga and the possible attempt of a similar massacre in Pambuban.⁴⁵⁵

One of the best illustrations of the early efforts and pacification problems on Samar, prior to the Balangiga massacre, was presented in the September 14, 1901, report by the *Princeton*, the Senior Officer Present on the Cebu Patrol Station. On the Island of Samar, the report tells how Hughes continued to battle the insurgents and was trying to pacify the island. It was reported that Lukban's complete correspondence was captured, and the commercial houses of Smith, Bell & Company and Warner and Barnes & Company were implicated in providing aid and succor to the insurgents. For this, the two companies were asked to leave. It was also noted that as long as the ports on Leyte remained open to trade, rice and ammunition was being conveyed across the straits of San Juanico to Samar. The only positive note of the report was that the populace on Samar were returning in large numbers to the garrisoned ports. The commanding officer of the *Princeton* envisioned the solution on Samar as, "but one way of subduing these people: by annihilation and fire. This plan was followed with success in Panay, is now in progress in Samar." In his opinion, Leyte, which was for the most part quiet, was prolonging the insurgency on Samar by illicit trade in rice. The vessels on patrol on Cebu

⁴⁵⁵ W.R. Shoemaker (*Princeton*), "Extract from Report of Operations of USS *Arayat*, dated Sep. 30, 1901"; *ibid*.

Station at that time were the *Princeton*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Guardoqui*, *Mariveles*, and *Pampanga*.⁴⁵⁶ With uncanny premonition, the commanding officer's recommendations and suggestion would become reality after the Balingiga massacre.

On September 28, 1901, at about 6 a.m., 400 boloman at the coastal village of Balangiga, Samar, attacked Company C of the 9th Regiment, U.S. Infantry. Unarmed and eating breakfast, of the seventy-two U.S. soldiers garrisoned at Balangiga, only 24 men and 11 wounded made it to the neighboring army garrison at Basey the next day. Most of the American soldiers died where they sat in the mess hall, hacked to death by bolos. An advance party sent to the town afterwards found the town empty, army buildings burned, and dead bodies mutilated. One dead army soldier was found still gasping a baseball bat in his dead hands, eight natives, with smashed heads, lay about him in a circle.⁴⁵⁷

The loss of arms, about sixty rifles with 28,000 rounds, was also a serious matter. General Hughes viewed the natives' actions as savage, and quickly dispatched a strong company to chastise the perpetrators.⁴⁵⁸ The massacre sent shock waves through the Philippines and America. To further deal with the insurgents on Samar, the 12th Infantry Battalion and 300 marines were sent to strengthen the small garrisons on the island.⁴⁵⁹ After Balingiga, insurgents on Samar became more brazen in their actions. On October 16, 1901, 46 men of Company E were attacked by 400 bolomen, 10 U.S. soldiers were killed and six wounded, at a cost of 81 insurgents killed.⁴⁶⁰ American retribution, by the army and navy, would be swift and unrelenting; Balangiga would usher in the most extreme of harsh methods employed by U.S. forces during the Philippine Insurrection. On October 7, 1901, in response to the Balangiga Massacre, Rear Admiral Remey wrote the Secretary of the Navy to urge the adoption of more stringent measures against the insurrection, in the line of deportation which had begun in January. He (Remey) saw this

⁴⁵⁶ *Princeton* to CINC Asiatic, Sep. 14, 1901; Philippine Board, Report of Affairs in Manila, 1898-1901, Operations of Naval Ships and Fleet Units, Subject File VI (SF VI); RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁵⁷ Captain (USA) Williams, doctor, "account", undated; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁵⁸ Chaffee to AGWAR, Sep. 29, 1901, *Correspondence*, 1294; Chaffee to AGWAR, Oct. 1, 1901, *idem*, 1295; Chaffee to AGWAR, Oct. 4, 1901, *idem*, 1296.

⁴⁵⁹ Chaffee to AGWAR, Oct. 23, 1901, *ibid.*, 1299.

⁴⁶⁰ Chaffee to AGWAR, Oct. 18, 1901, *ibid.*, 1298.

as the most powerful and humane deterrent against the insurrection, better than “shooting and hanging would have”.⁴⁶¹

On October 9, 1901, Brigadier General Jacob H. “howling Jake” Smith left Manila to command Samar. In an effort to ensure a uniform strategy and “remembering Balangiga”, Smith outlined “the policy” as he put it. As natives were beginning to present themselves at the garrisoned towns with greater frequency, Smith believed it would be advantages to lesson the rigors of war toward these non-combatants. In his policy, Smith classified Filipinos into two groups. The first group consisted of those in arms or those who collected arms, money, food, or information for those in arms. The second group consisted of all those not actively in the first group. Toward the first group, Smith advocated constant unremitting prosecution, active attacks, and the cutting off of supplies. Toward the second group, he promoted the softening of restrictions and prohibitions. He allowed them to provide for themselves the necessities of life, making sure that they did not suffer for food or clothing. To achieve this policy, Smith informed all army garrisons to notify the natives in their vicinity, that for their protection, they would be required to move within certain prescribed limits. As long as they (natives) remained peaceful, they would be afforded all the opportunities to obtain food and other necessities. Smith also informed all his garrison commanders to always assume the offensive and pursue the enemy vigorously, an order that will be shown was carried out very effectively through the cooperation of the army and navy.⁴⁶²

While operating in the waters between southern Luzon and Samar, the gunboat *Quiros* received intelligence from the army that native craft were crossing the straits when gunboats were not in sight. On October 30, 1901, the gunboat patrolled along southern Luzon and discovered one large and two small praws (native fishing canoes), two bancas, and one large war canoe. The ship sent a landing party to further investigate and found some 2,000 pounds of rice and a large quantity of hemp being dried (indicating it was recently brought in by water). In the absence of papers, all was destroyed. It was the assumption of the commanding officer, Lieutenant W. B. Fletcher, that the rice was

⁴⁶¹ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Oct. 7, 1901; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁶² Brigadier General Smith, “Circular No. 2”, undated; *ibid*.

being smuggled into Samar and that hemp was being brought back to be taken to a neighboring town where Smith, Bell and Company collected hemp. It was Fletcher's suggestion that all the ports be closed to trade and that an additional gunboat, preferably of the *Pampanga* Class, be sent to patrol the area. It would only be a short period before his suggestions became reality.⁴⁶³

On October 18, 1901, Major Edwin T. Glenn, Judge Advocate for the Department of the Visayas, requested from the navy a gunboat to assist him in arresting several known local officials on the island of Biliran and Leyte which were delivering hemp and aiding in the distribution of rice to Samar to help the insurgency. Glenn further stated that this would be in line with the navy's efforts to blockaded Leyte from Samar, cooperate with the army, and conformed to the wishes of Hughes.⁴⁶⁴ The *Villalobos*, reporting on her expedition with Glenn, reported that between October 18 thru the 20th, she had visited two ports on Leyte that resulted in the arrested of seven insurgent supporters, and visited six ports on the Island of Beliran and arrested eleven further collaborators, several arms, insurgent documents, and a large amount of insurgent funds, estimated at over 200,000 pesos.⁴⁶⁵

On October 3, 1901, the gunboat *Arayat* cooperated with the army in reconnoitering insurgent positions. On the 5th, finding insurgents in force, the gunboat fired the ship's Colt automatic, 6-pdr., fore and aft 3-pdrs., and 1-pdr. into the insurgent positions, knocking down the insurgent flag and silencing any resistance. When a combined army and navy party began to land, the insurgents opened fire, but the use of the ship's Colt and 6-pdr. on the swamps and breastwork quieted the insurgents, and upon landing, the party found the entrenchments deserted. On October 6th, the gunboat patrolled the area around Pambujan, clearing out insurgent fisherman and destroying fish corrals. From Oct 7-11, the gunboat patrolled the area and continued to bombard the insurgents who had returned to Omagongong. The *Arayat* arrived at Balangiga on Oct 14, 1901, finding a small garrison made up of only half a company, mostly new recruits who

⁴⁶³ *Quiros* to SOP, October 30, 1901: Entry 5783; RG 395; NAB.

⁴⁶⁴ Edwin T. Glenn to *Frolic* (SOP), Oct. 18, 1901; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁶⁵ C.H. Fischer (*Villalobos*) to SOP (Cebu), Oct. 22, 1901; *ibid*.

were greatly affected by the post's previous history, and resulted in several pigs being shot every night as suspected boloman. Insurgents in the vicinity continued to harass the garrison by firing into the town at night. But with the presence of a gunboat in the harbor, the insurgents were not apt to attack. The moral effect of a gunboat was about equal to that produced by a regiment on the natives.

Before departing, the garrison commander requested that the *Arayat* lob a couple of shells the insurgent way, so the gunboat steamed close in to the point and shelled all the houses in sight, setting a number on fire. On October 16, 1901, the *Arayat* returned to Panbujan, but found that the garrison had been relieved by a whole company of the 7th infantry, so not being needed, the gunboat left on October 17, and arrived at the port of Laguan on the north coast of Samar on the 19th. The garrison commander informed the *Arayat* that the town of Laguan had grown to over 5,000 people along with the neighboring town of Palapa which had also grown significantly. Initially it had been hard to get the natives to come in after the order "to come in" was issued and had no effect, so the army set about burning all the outlying houses, killing a dozen or so natives, and the next day 300 moved into the town.

The next port call for the *Arayat* was at Oras, and there also was found that the town had grown to 2,000 people. The gunboat next engaged in cooperating with the army on Samar as she landed army and navy troops at two places along the Samar coast known to be inhabited by insurgents; 45 houses were destroyed along with 20 boats. On October 26, 1901, the gunboat arranged to conduct a joint operation around the Salcedo River, as the army had been unable to reach the countryside. On the 27th, the combined forces landed under the guns of the *Arayat* and cleared out the island of Tubabao and the adjacent shores of Samar, burning 80 houses, 65 boats, and shooting a good deal of live stock. On the 28th, on the Samar coast near the mouth of the Salcedo River, the gunboats' main batteries cleared the jungle as a landing force advanced, killing an unknown number of boloman, destroying 25 boats, and burning 45 houses, and again killing a number of live stock.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁶ W.R. Shoemaker (*Princeton*) to Senior Squadron Commander, Oct. 31, 1901; *ibid.*

The *Arayat* reported on November 6, 1901, that she landed a detachment of army troops along the coast of Samar and assisted by firing her 1-pdr. at houses along the beach to clear them of insurgents. In all, the small expedition destroyed 17 bancas, 5 fish weirs, much live stock, and 34 houses near the Salcedo river. On November 14, 1901, in cooperation with the army, a landing party of navy bluejackets joined an army column of 52 troops and 450 natives. For two days the expedition scoured the countryside, marching for over 50 miles, burning 50 houses, 2 insurgent camps, killing ten insurgents, and much live stock.⁴⁶⁷ Besides wrecking havoc on illicit trade on the high seas, the navy was obviously also engaged in cooperating with the army's policy of creating a "howling wilderness" on the interior of Samar.

On November 23, 1901, Major General Chaffee wrote Like E. Wright, the Vice-Civil governor of the Philippines, that the civil government on Leyte was suspended and trade on both Leyte and Samar was prohibited. All boats would be fired upon and destroyed by the navy; except, fishing vessels. The reason for such harsh measures was the insurrection on Samar, for which Leyte was sending food, men, and arms, and money across the straits of San Juanico. The shipping passes issued on Leyte were being abused by the insurgents. One vessel plying between the two islands was found to have rice and lead (used for manufacturing ammunition); all such contraband would be destroyed or commandeered.⁴⁶⁸

The *Yorktown*, senior officer present, for the Samar patrol, reported in mid-December, that upon investigation, it was found that a number of army officers and enlisted personnel were providing protection to disguised *insurrectos* by the indiscriminate and careless manner in which passes were being issued to vessels. General Smith was outraged, he viewed that the navy was getting the problem of illicit trade into shape; native boats and towns along the coast viewed gunboats as formidable obstacles and extreme danger to any illegal traffic for themselves and for all their property afloat and within reach on shore. General Smith immediately prohibited the use of passes. The passes were originally issued in the hope of easing native suffering, but protests of

⁴⁶⁷ *Arayat* to CINC Asiatic, Nov. 30, 1901; *ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ Committee on the Philippines, 3: 2167-2179.

starvation were more than the circumstances justified, and Hughes saw the suffering as an aid in bringing the *insurrectos* to term.⁴⁶⁹

On January 8, 1902, the *Yorktown*, reporting from Samar, again expressed frustration with the army concerning the blockade. It was a trying experience as the passes given by the army were used as a convenient cloak to pursue contraband traffic. Luckily, the commanding officer of the *Yorktown* spent three days with Smith aboard, and presented his findings. One of the worst ports was Basey, and the island of Leyte. Army officers seemed blind to the fact that some of the most trusted natives had complicity in furnishing supplies to the *insurrectos*. A number of boats and occupants captured and turned in at Basay and Tacloban, were released afterwards and reengaged in this traffic. On the previous Saturday, 63 boats were overhauled, and 3 of every 4 had been captured and turned in previously by a gunboat. Smith pledged his full support.⁴⁷⁰ On January 14, 1902, Admiral Rodgers stated that, "It may safely be said that if the military operations on shore were conducted by the Army with the same unflagging zeal, energy, and unity of purpose that characterizes the movements afloat, that the termination of hostilities in Samar would be a matter of weeks instead of months."⁴⁷¹

On February 18, 1902, General Vicente Lukban was captured by a party of Philippine Scouts on Samar. Lukban reported on Feb 25, 1901, that the army and the navy had harassed him and kept him on the move; the naval blockade had paralyzed trade and was very severe, hampering communications with Leyte. He described the blockade as being so very close and with the constant bombardment, people could only plant a little rice to sustain themselves, while the army sacked towns.⁴⁷² Lukban's remaining forces surrendered in April, and on June 17, 1902, the island reverted to civilian government, paving the way for the declared end of hostilities two week later.⁴⁷³ The last of the insurgents had been defeated.

⁴⁶⁹ *Yorktown* to SSC, Dec. 16, 1902; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁷⁰ *Yorktown* to SSC, Jan 8, 1902; *ibid*.

⁴⁷¹ SSC to CINC Asiatic, Jan 14, 1902; *ibid*.

⁴⁷² Taylor, 5: 684.

⁴⁷³ Taylor, 2: 438; Imperial, 132.

Samar had been a difficult occupation for the United States. While its topography and reliance on the importation of foodstuffs made it very susceptible to the navy's blockade, it was not until the army unified its command and strategy that pacification took hold. With the full blockade of the island by the navy, the vigorous destruction of all property outside the American occupied towns, and the relentless pursuit of the insurgents by the army with the navy's aid, the insurgents were finally defeated.

G. THE END OF HOSTILITIES

On July 2, 1902, the Secretary of War informed General Chaffee that the President would end the insurrection on July 4, 1902, with the following proclamation:

The insurrection against the sovereign authority of the United States in the Philippine Archipelago having ended, and provincial civil governments having been established throughout the entire territory of the archipelago not inhabited by Moro tribes, under instructions of the President to the Philippine commission dated April 7, 1900, now ratified and confirmed by the Act of Congress, approved July 1, 1902, entitled 'An act temporarily to provide for the administration of affairs of civil government in the Philippine Islands and for other purposes,' the general commanding division of the Philippines is hereby relieved from the further performance of the duties of military governor and the office of the military governor in said archipelago is terminated. The general commanding division of the Philippines and all military officers in authority therein will continue to observe direction contained in the aforesaid instructions of the President, that the military forces in the division of the Philippines shall be at all times subject, under the orders of the military commander, to the call of the civic authorities for maintenance of law and the enforcement of their authority.⁴⁷⁴

On July 4, 1902, the Philippine Insurrection ended. Months earlier, the junior squadron commander reported that Samar would be quiet for some time.⁴⁷⁵ On May 14, 1901, the *Concord* was ordered to Alaska, the *Castine* and *Marietta* to the Atlantic, and the *Princeton* and *Petrel* to Mare Island for overhaul.⁴⁷⁶ Two days after the end of hostilities in the Philippines, the Navy department further sought to downsize its forces in

⁴⁷⁴ Corbin to Chaffee, Jul. 2, 1902, *Correspondence*, 1350-1351.

⁴⁷⁵ SSC to CINC Asiatic, May 6, 1902; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁷⁶ Chief of Bureau of Navigation, May 14, 1901; *ibid*.

the Philippines, so on July 7, 1902, the Commander-in-Chief of Naval Forces on Asiatic Station recommended that the *Basco*, *Calamianes*, *Luzon*, *Mariveles*, *Panay*, *Paragua*, and *Arayat* should be decommissioned, but only after they were, “overhauled and prepared for immediate service in case of necessity”. At that time the admiral spoke how the squadron was cooperating with the army on the coast of Mindanao and in the Sulu Archipelago.⁴⁷⁷ A year later, the southern squadron commander wrote, on May 20, 1903, that the squadron consisted of the *Rainbow* (Flagship), *Albay*, *Annapolis*, *Celtic*, *Don Juan de Austria*, *Frolic*, *Isla de Cuba*, *Iris*, *Piscataqua*, *Quiros*, *Samar*, *Wompatuck*, and *Zafiro*. The duties of the ships were in suppressing illicit traffic, cooperating with the military authorities, and when necessary, collecting hydrographic information. The only operations of war were on the island of Mindanao with the Moros. The squadron had two patrol districts, that of Polloc on the east coast of Mindanao, and that of Zamboanga on the southern coast. The gunboats *Cuba*, *Frolic* and *Quiros* were being held at Cavite in readiness to intercept a vessel about to leave Hong Kong with a shipment of arms, but no further information was available.⁴⁷⁸ The Philippine Insurrection was over, but hostilities on Mindanao, separate from the Insurrection, would ignite in 1903 and lead to a conflict that could be said persists till today.

In his annual report for 1903, the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, H. C. Taylor, reported on the Asiatic Station that there was a general state of peace, except for the patrols of the southern coast of Mindanao and of the Sulu Islands where the navy was aiding to assist the army in checking supplies for the Moros and the suppression of illicit traffic. The Asiatic Squadron saw a shift as vessels were transferred to the northern squadron (see table 5).⁴⁷⁹ While advocating the need for ten cruisers on the station, he did not provide any reasoning. But in his recommendation for two more gunboats, he explained that they were needed for the protection of U.S. interests on the rivers of China. He used the examples of other nations which had similar vessels in Chinese waters, and

⁴⁷⁷ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Jul. 7, 1902; *ibid*.

⁴⁷⁸ SSC to CINC Asiatic, May 20, 1903; SF OO; RG 45; NAB.

⁴⁷⁹ Navy, *Annual report for 1903*, 600.

as American interests in China were growing, it was earnestly recommended that such vessels be immediately provided. The beginning of the Yangtze River Patrol was born.⁴⁸⁰

Table 5. Vessels on Station for 1903

VESSEL	ASSIGNMENT	TYPE
<i>Kentucky</i>	CINC Asiatic Flagship	Battleship
<i>Wisconsin</i>	Northern Squadron Flagship	Battleship
<i>Rainbow</i>	Southern Squadron Flagship	Auxiliary
<i>Oregon</i>	Northern Squadron	Battleship
<i>Monterey</i>	Northern Squadron	Monitor
<i>Monadnock</i>	Northern Squadron	Monitor
<i>New Orleans</i>	Northern Squadron	Cruiser
<i>Helena</i>	Northern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Wilmington</i>	Northern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Vicksburg</i>	Northern Squadron	Gun
<i>Monocacy</i>	Northern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Elcano</i>	Northern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Callao</i>	Northern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Villalobos</i>	Northern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Annapolis</i>	Southern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Austria</i>	Southern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Cuba</i>	Southern Squadron	Gun
<i>Frolic</i>	Southern Squadron	Gun
<i>Quiros</i>	Southern Squadron	Gunboat
<i>Albay</i>	Southern Squadron	Gun
<i>Samara</i>	Southern Squadron	Gun
<i>Wompatuck</i>	Southern Squadron	Gunboat (armed tug)
<i>Piscataqua</i>	Southern Squadron	Gunboat (armed tug)
<i>Isla de Luzon</i>	Detached	Gunboat

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., 475-478.

VESSEL	ASSIGNMENT	TYPE
<i>New York</i>	Detached	Armored Cruiser
<i>Yorktown</i>	Detached	Gunboat
<i>Princeton</i>	Detached	Gunboat
<i>Arayat</i>	Decommissioned	Gunboat
<i>Basco</i>	Decommissioned	Gunboat
<i>Panay</i>	Decommissioned	Gunboat
<i>Calamianes</i>	Decommissioned	Gunboat
<i>Mariveles</i>	Decommissioned	Gunboat
<i>Paragua</i>	Decommissioned	Gunboat

According to the Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, “The campaign in the Philippines, so far as concerns the navy, has consisted almost entirely in cooperation with army expeditions against the insurgents, upon which, as evidenced by the reports of all army officers concerned, the naval vessels rendered invaluable assistance. A further check upon the insurgents has been the rigid system of patrol carried on by the smaller gunboats, which has materially hampered the inflow of arms and ammunition to the islands.”⁴⁸¹ A prime example of the results of the navy’s efforts in blockading the importation of arms for the insurgents was when insurgent Major Jeciel, commanding Isabela Province, reported that it was almost impossible to obtain ammunition for his troops’ Mauser and Remington rifles.⁴⁸² Another example of the navy’s success in the blockade was when the insurgent commander, of the island of Mindoro, wrote the Hong Kong junta that even though he had sufficient rifles, their ammunition was exhausted and they did not have the means for making more.⁴⁸³ On Samar, the insurgents were so short on weapons that they dig up American graves as they usually buried their dead with their

⁴⁸¹ Navy, *Annual Reports for 1901*, 508-509.

⁴⁸² Taylor, 2: 347.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., 2: 366.

arms.⁴⁸⁴ For the navy's role in blockading the importing of arms to the insurgents, the navy's efforts were highly successful.

There have been many critics to the army's policy of "concentration" in which the navy was a vital factor. Such authors such as Teodoro Kalaw, Leon Wolff, and Stuart Miller saw Generals Bell and Smith as butchers, but some, such as John Taylor, John Gates, and Brian Linn have tended to defend the army's policy.⁴⁸⁵ As benevolence and civic action gave way to repression, coercive measures had increased; property destruction to deprive guerrillas of food and shelter and also punish their supporters was popular. Colonel Arthur Murray on Leyte professed in 1902 that having to do it over again, he would to a little more killing and a little more burning.⁴⁸⁶ In the end, it was the practice of provocation as much as appeasement that rendered the insurrection a failure. In both instances, the navy's gunboats played a major role.

For the period from January 1, 1901 to the conclusion of hostilities on July 4, 1902, the navy greatly aided in the suppression of the insurgency. The navy prevented the flow of arms to the insurgents. As the army sought to implement more stringent pacification policies against the insurgents and their supporters, it was the navy that prevented illicit trade, consisting of hemp and foodstuff, from being imported and exported, thus greatly affecting the populations ability to sustain itself outside of American controlled areas. As the army also instituted a more rigorous policy of pursuing the insurgents, it was the navy again who aided in covering the landings, communicating with garrisons, and transporting the army to the remote locations that the insurgents inhabited. The navy's role for the last period of hostilities was as instrumental as the previous years, and directly aided in ending the insurrection.

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., 2: 429-431.

⁴⁸⁵ May, 245.

⁴⁸⁶ Linn, 220-224.

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V. THE AFTERMATH

America is now threatened less by conquering states than we are by failing ones. We are menaced less by fleets and armies than by . . . the embittered few. We must defeat these threats to our nation, allies, and friends.⁴⁸⁷

The purpose of this study was to analyze the role of the United States Navy within the complexities of the Philippine Insurrection, a role that cannot be simply ascribed to the traditional notion of cooperating with the army and enforcing a blockade. The navy engaged in these tasks and with much success, but it is imperative to have a broader understanding of how these fit into the larger scheme of the conflict. For that reason, this study narrated the intricacies of how and when the navy cooperated with the army, effected the blockade, and conducted other operations. The result has been an in-depth understanding of the crucial part that the Navy played in the Philippine Insurrection.

The Philippine Insurrection has been described as America's most successful counterinsurgency campaign; making it a prime study for the use of the military, civic action, and pacification operations.⁴⁸⁸ As described by Secretary of War Elihu Root at the conclusion of the insurrection, "It is evident that the insurrection has been brought to an end both by making a war distressing and hopeless on the one hand, and by making peace attractive, through immediate and present demonstration of the sincerity of our purpose to give to the people just and free government, on the other."⁴⁸⁹

What gave the U.S. military the advantage was the navy, notably the armed gunboats that operated upon the seas and rivers. The navy provided the crucial element without which; the army could not have conducted successful operations. The navy aided through the prevention of importation of arms and preventing coastal traffic in an archipelago that lacked roads. It prevented Aguinaldo from centralizing his authority throughout the archipelago, disrupted the insurgents' ability to raise and transport funds,

⁴⁸⁷ George W. Bush, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington: GPO, 2002), Available [Online] <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html> [Nov. 19, 2004].

⁴⁸⁸ Linn, 328.

⁴⁸⁹ Secretary of War, *Annual Report of the Secretary of War for the Year 1902* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902), 12-13.

protected and supplied army garrisons, prevented the movement of insurgent troops, and provided the capability of amphibious operations which the enemy lacked.⁴⁹⁰

In evaluating the cooperation between the army and the navy, it is clear that what is termed today as “jointness” was well in effect one hundred years ago. During the first year (1899) of conventional campaigns on Luzon, as the army sought to defeat the Filipino army through conventional warfare, the navy assisted. The navy provided fire support, supplies, communications, and the ability to conduct amphibious landings, from Cavite in the south to San Fabian in the north. As the conflict degraded into guerilla warfare and the army sought to expand its presence throughout the islands (1900), the navy again provided support, as in the Hemp Expedition. In the final stage of the conflict (1901-1902), as the army attempted to consolidate its hold on the archipelago and defeat the insurgents, it was the navy that provided the ability for the army to strike where it needed to, with surprise, along the coast and on inland waterways, as was seen with the capture of Aguinaldo.

In assessing the blockade, it must be approached from the perspectives of external and internal facets. From abroad there was the threat of the importation of arms and ammunition. For all of the intelligence received on possible shipments, there is no evidence that any large arms shipment were ever captured. While it might be assumed that the navy failed in this regard, further exploration provides a different conclusion. Insurgent documents repeatedly indicate that arms were always in extremely short supply, to the point of causing defeat. ⁴⁹¹ Furthermore, insurgent documents never acknowledge that any shipments were received after the onset of hostilities. Therefore, it is apparent that arms and ammunition were not being imported into the Philippines. The result of this must in part be attributed to the presence of the navy’s blockade in presenting an obstacle that maritime merchants were not willing to risk. Also deserving

⁴⁹⁰ Linn, 325-326.

⁴⁹¹ Leoncio Alarilla, insurgent captain, San Juan Tarlac, to Tinio, Lieutenant Colonel, Feb. 4, 1900, Taylor, 5: 177; Belarmino, insurgent general, Feb. 23, 1900, idem, 5: 180-181; Martin Delgado, insurgent general on Panay, Mar. 25, 1899, idem, 5: 495; F. Buencamino to Don Felipe Agoncillo, May 27, 1899, idem, 4: 220-222; F. Buencamino to Don Felipe Agoncillo, Jul. 25, 1899, idem, 4: 226; Pio de Pilar to Secretary of War, Malolos, Feb. 11, 1899, idem, 4: 575-576; Emilio Aguinaldo, Mar. 12, 1899, idem, 4: 609; Sr. Francisco Makabulus Soliman, May 20, 1899, idem, 4: 645; Baldomero Aguinaldo, insurgent commander-in-chief, Imus, Jun. 14, 1899, idem, 4: 667.

credit must be the efforts of the State Department upon foreign countries, and the insurgents themselves for entering into bad business deals and embezzling their own funds for personal use.⁴⁹²

The other aspect of the blockade was internal, inter-island. In this aspect, the navy played a fundamental role in assisting the army's pacification policy, interdicting the insurgent lines of communication and lines of action. Throughout the archipelago the navy cruised and boarded vessels carrying contraband. This denied the insurgents the ability to use water as a means of communicating, supplying, and transporting men and material. The biggest effect was in conjunction with the army's pacification policy of concentration, begun by General Hughes on Panay, Cebu, and Samar, and then seen with General Bell in Batangas Province and General Smith on Samar. As the army sought to mass the civilian population in towns under its control, and destroy all foodstuffs within the interior, it was the navy which prevented the importation of food and supplies for the guerillas and in doing starved a number of insurgents into submission.⁴⁹³

The last role that the navy filled in the Philippine Insurrection was in regard to other operations, or more aptly termed, independent operations. With the army consistently short of personnel, ranging in the Philippines from 43,833 troops manning 53 stations in November 1899 to 69,420 troops manning 502 stations by December 1900

it was up to the navy to act as a force multiplier and fill the gap.⁴⁹⁴ While the army was busy on Luzon during the initial year, the navy captured the ports of Cebu and Zamboanga. In other instances, the navy conducted operations against "targets of opportunity", firing upon insurgents ashore whenever possible. As the army eventually expanded its presence, the navy's independent operations diminished. But, the navy continued to engage in preventing piracy, conducting survey work, and showing the flag in unoccupied ports.

⁴⁹² Ibid., 2: 486-496.

⁴⁹³ May, 239; Taylor, 5: 653-660.

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid., 2: 285.

From the Philippine Insurrection, there are a host of lessons to be learned, but in regards to the navy, this study focuses on three: the value of the navy in regards to the principles of war, in regards to the gunboat, and the usefulness of the navy in counter-insurgency operations.

The army was only able to adhere to the nine principles of war through the use of the navy.⁴⁹⁵ With a land force that reached a peak of some 70,000 troops, occupying an archipelago of 7,100 islands inhabited by 14,000,000 people was a daunting if not impossible task for the army.⁴⁹⁶ It was the navy which provided the army with the flexibility to achieve mass, offensive, surprise, economy of force, maneuver, and security throughout the islands by landing troops, ferrying reinforcements, and using the fire power of its naval guns. The ability of the army to move unimpeded along the coasts allowed the soldiers to drive the insurgents into the interior and away from their center of gravity, the native population. The insurgents themselves feared an American attack on this center of gravity on June 2, 1900.⁴⁹⁷ While the army battled over the three remaining principles of objective, unity of command, and simplicity for some time, a hindrance that hampered the navy's role and resulted in the prolongation of the conflict, the final adoption of unified stricter policies after 1900 solidified victory.⁴⁹⁸

The second lesson concerns that of the utility of the gunboat. When discussing the navy in the Philippine Insurrection, the navy unequivocally equates to the gunboat. No other vessels could accomplish the tasks required in the Philippines in operating in the littorals. The large capital ships of the Asiatic Station were relatively useless as seen through the reduced crews mandated, the sinking of the *Charleston*, and their relative obscurity from action. While gunboats could not match the firepower of the larger

⁴⁹⁵ The nine principles of war from the Army Field Manual FM-3 Military Operations are: Mass, Objective, Offensive, Surprise, Economy of Force, Maneuver, Unity of Command, Security, and Simplicity.

⁴⁹⁶ The total active-duty strength for the army was 81,000 in 1899, 102,000 in 1900, 86,000 in 1901, and 81,000 1902. These figures are all for the month in the year indicated and are rounded to the nearest thousand. Total strength includes all regular army, volunteers, inductees, National Guard, and Reserve personnel called into active Federal service. Gordon R. Young, ed., *The Army Almanac: A Book of Facts Concerning the United States Army* (Harrisburg, PA: The Stackpole Company, 1959), 111.

⁴⁹⁷ Taylor, 5: 200-201.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., 2: 260-261.

cruisers or battleships, their ability to maneuver close ashore proved even more advantages in cooperating with the army. In effecting a blockade, multiple small vessels could cover the expansive area of the archipelago and pursue vessels into the littoral waterways.

The third lesson concerns the utility of the navy in counter-insurgency operations. When the Filipino Revolutionaries resorted to conventional warfare, it had been capital ships and gunboats that aided the army in defeating the enemy. But, when it turned to a guerilla insurrection, it was the gunboat that acted alone in aiding the army, a theme echoed by the “hero of Manila Bay”, Rear Admiral Dewey, “Once the early fighting with the insurgents was over and their capital at Malolos taken, the problem was one of successive occupation of towns and provinces against all the exasperations of guerilla warfare, in which the navy could be of assistance only by protecting landing forces and the use of its small gunboats in shallow waters.”⁴⁹⁹ Insurgents rarely massed in large numbers and retained great flexibility to maneuver, so the gunboats’ speed, surprise, firepower, and ability to land sufficient troops, enabled the army to defeat the insurgents along the coasts and inland waterways of the archipelago. Insurgents derived their strength through the populace; it is where they received their food, money, supplies, recruits, and hid. It was only in combination with the navy that the army was able to separate this vital linkage. By controlling the food, commerce, and maritime traffic, the insurgency lost its support base and finally collapsed.

The implications for today’s navy are simple. As the secretary of the navy reported in 1902, “a modern navy cannot be improvised, it needs time for development and perfection, and neither is war or the threat of war the time.”⁵⁰⁰ The capital ship, whether it was the cruisers and battleships of yesteryear or the Aegis destroyers and aircraft carriers of today, will always be needed. Conventional military threats and opposing navies mandate this. As Rear Admiral Remey, in an early premonition of things to come, wrote on Japan’s desire for the Philippines:

⁴⁹⁹ Dewey, 248.

⁵⁰⁰ Navy, *Annual Reports for 1902*, 13-15.

In these times of international unrest and territorial expansion, the defenselessness of our position in the Philippines is a standing invitation to attack. Against Japan, close at hand with all her resources, we would be almost helpless, at least until a powerful expedition could be equipped and sent out from the United States, during which time we would probably lose all we now hold in the islands, with part of our fleet.⁵⁰¹

While the Spanish-American War has been seen as the principle event of the navy from 1897-1911, in shaping naval policy, accelerated ship building, increase in officers and seaman, and educational facilities, the Philippine Insurrection provides a different perspective. Following decades of neglect after the Civil War, in which officers stagnated from the lack of upward mobility and lacked initiative, decision, resourcefulness, and had little experience except for routine subordinate tasks, the Philippine Insurrection aided in solving these problems.⁵⁰² As America transitioned to a world power with a navy to match, it was not aboard the large combatants or in the classrooms that the skills required were obtained, but rather on the bridges of gunboats. As most eloquently put by Bradley A. Fiske, who rose to the rank of rear admiral:

Yet as I looked at McFarland, I could not help a little feeling of bitterness, in seeing this young man so early in command (gunboat *Samar*) of a vessel, when I compared with it the crushing hopelessness of the life that officers of my age had led for many years. We had spent the most aspiring years of our lives in the dullest, the most uninteresting, and the most useless duties⁵⁰³

It was the young officers aboard gunboats in the Philippines who as much as anyone ushered in the new era of the 20th century; not on great battleships fighting an enemy fleet, but operating in the littorals, in support of land forces and against an enemy with no fleet. From the experience of the Philippine Insurrection, these same officers would lead the nation as captains and admirals to success in two World Wars.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰¹ CINC Asiatic to SECNAV, Oct 7, 1901; AF 10; RG 45; NAB.

⁵⁰² Charles O. Paullin, *Paullin's History of Naval Administration, 1775-1911* (Annapolis, MD: U.S. Naval Institute, 1968), 427, 434, 457-465.

⁵⁰³ Fiske, 235.

⁵⁰⁴ Williams, 303-307.

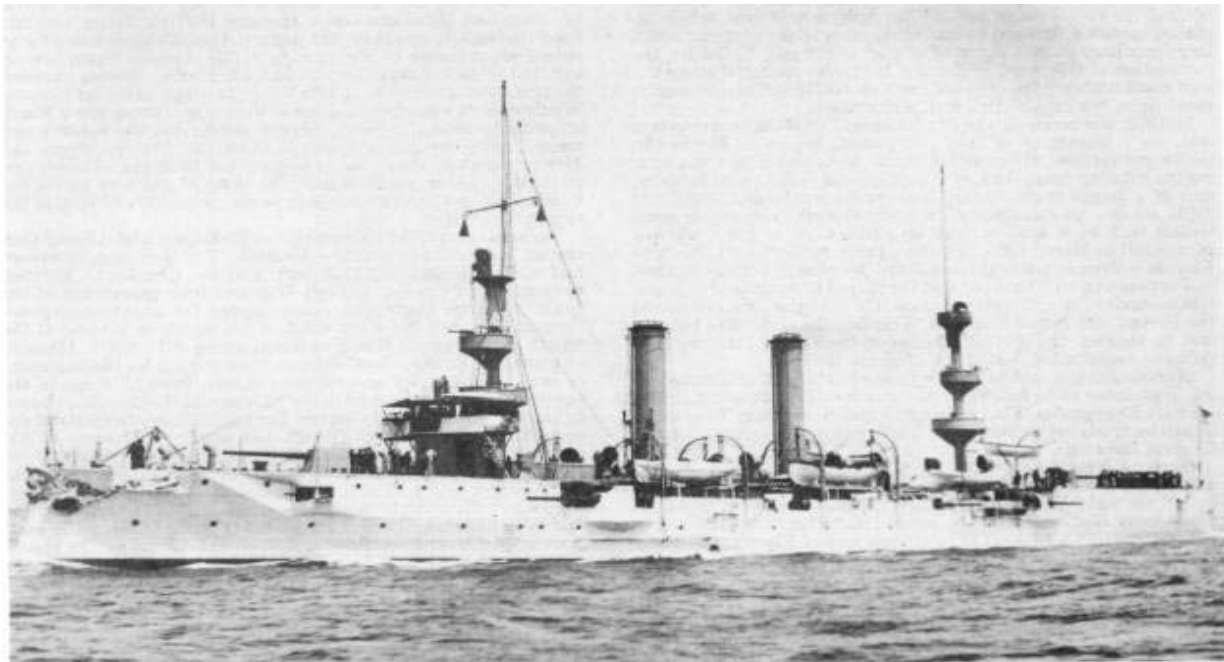
Over the course of United States, war has only been declared five times, and yet America has engaged in over two-hundred armed conflicts. The threat posed today by insurgents and terrorists has been described as asymmetrical, and has sent the United States military onto a path of “Transformation”. But as these enemies employ the same strategy and tactics that their predecessors used one hundred years ago, is it logical to look any further than our past for some of the answers on how to defeat them today?

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VI. APPENDIX A. U.S. NAVAL SHIPS OF THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

The following is an alphabetical compilation of the combatant naval vessels that served aboard the Asiatic Station in the Philippines on one or more occasions between February 4, 1899 and July 4, 1902, excluded are auxillary vessels: colliers, refrigerators, and supply ships.⁵⁰⁵ Pictures, when available, have been included.⁵⁰⁶

Name: <i>Albany</i>	Class:
Type: Protected Cruiser	Complement: 365
Commissioned: May 29, 1900	Length: 346 feet
Displacement: 4,011 tons	Maximum Draft: 20 feet
Beam: 43.75 feet	
Main Battery: (6) 6-inch guns, (4) 4.7-inch guns.	
Secondary Battery: (10) 6-pdrs., (8) 1-pdrs. (2) 6mm Colt automatics	
Notes:	



USS *Albany*

⁵⁰⁵ Navy, *Annual Reports for 1899*, 614-689; idem, *Annual Reports for 1901*, 896-969; Fred T. Jane, *Jane's Fighting Ships 1905/1906* (New York: Arco Publishing Co., Inc., 1905); Williams, 319-325.

⁵⁰⁶ United States, Department of the Navy, Naval Historical Center, "Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships", Available [Online] <http://www.history.navy.mil/danfs/index.html> [Jun. 4, 2004].

Name: *Albay*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: May 21, 1899

Displacement: 151 tons

Beam: 17.5 feet

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (1) 6-pdr., (1) 6mm Colt automatic

Notes: Originally purchased by War Department

Class:

Complement: 27

Length: 100 feet

Mean Draft: 6.75 feet

Name: *Annapolis*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: July 20, 1897

Displacement: 1,116 tons

Beam: 36 feet

Main Battery: (6) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic

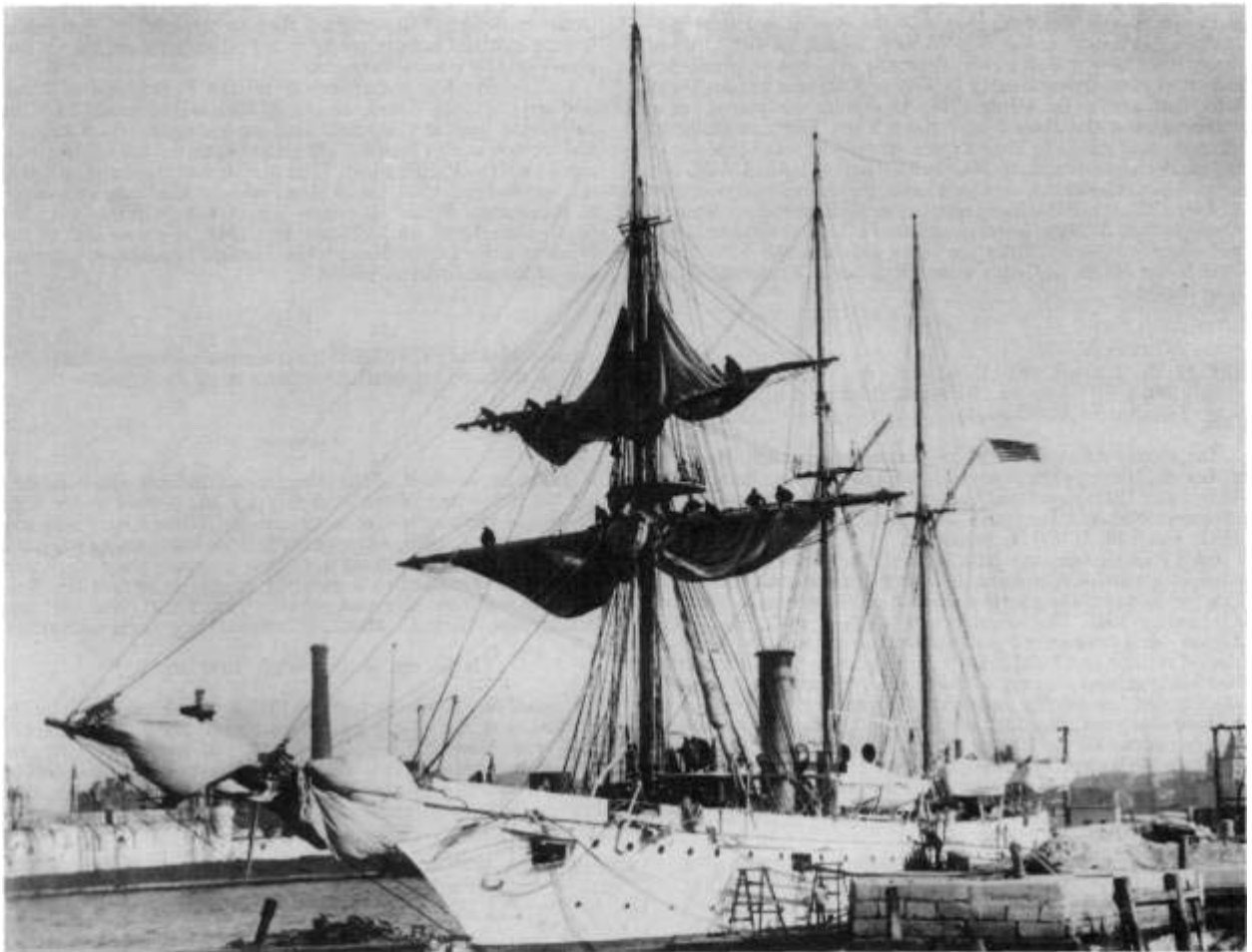
Notes:

Class: Annapolis

Complement:

Length: 168 feet

Maximum Draft: 13.8 feet



USS Annapolis

Name: *Arayat*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: August 10, 1900
 Displacement: 201 tons
 Beam:
 Main Battery:
 Secondary Battery: (1) 6-pdr., (3) 3-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic
 Notes:

Class:
 Complement:
 Length:
 Maximum Draft:

Name: *Baltimore*
 Type: Protected Cruiser
 Commissioned: January 7, 1890
 Displacement: 5,436 tons
 Beam: 48.6 feet
 Main Battery: (12) 6-inch guns, (6) 14-pdrs.
 Secondary Battery: (6) 3-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (4) Colt automatics, (1) 3-inch field gun
 Notes:

Class:
 Complement: 395
 Length: 327.5 feet
 Maximum Draft: 24 feet

Name: *Basco*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: June 2, 1899
 Displacement: 42 tons
 Beam:
 Main Battery:
 Secondary Battery: (2) 1-pdrs., (1) Colt automatic
 Notes: Originally purchased by War Department. Converted tugboat.

Class:
 Complement:
 Length:
 Maximum Draft:

Name: *Bennington*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: June 20, 1891
 Displacement: 1710 tons
 Beam: 36 feet
 Main Battery: (6) 6-inch guns
 Secondary Battery: (2) 6-pdrs., (2) 3-pdrs., (2) 37mm guns, (2) Gatling guns
 Notes:

Class: Yorktown
 Complement: 197
 Length: 230 feet
 Maximum Draft: 16.5 feet

Name: *Boston*
 Type: Protected Cruiser
 Commissioned: May 2, 1887
 Displacement: 3195 tons
 Beam: 42 feet
 Main Battery: (2) 8-inch guns, (6) 6-inch guns
 Secondary Battery: (6) 6-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (2) Colt automatics, (1) 3-inch field gun
 Notes:

Class:
 Complement: 301
 Length: 271.25 feet
 Maximum Draft:

Name: *Brooklyn*

Type: Armored Cruiser

Commissioned: December 1, 1896

Displacement: 9,797 tons

Beam: 64.75 feet

Main Battery: (8) 8-inch guns, (12) 5-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (12) 6-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (4) 6mm Colt automatics, (2) 3-inch field guns

Notes:

Class:

Complement: 517

Length: 400.5 feet

Maximum Draft: 26 feet

Name: *Buffalo*

Type: Auxiliary Cruiser

Commissioned:

Displacement: 6,888 tons

Beam:

Main Battery: (4) 4-inch guns, (2) 5-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (6) 6-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics

Notes:

Class:

Complement:

Length:

Maximum Draft:

Name: *Calamianes*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: June 11, 1899

Displacement: 151 tons

Beam:

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (1) 3-pdr., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic

Notes: Originally purchased by War Department.

Class:

Complement:

Length:

Maximum Draft:

Name: *Callao*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: July 31, 1898

Displacement: 208 tons

Beam: 17.5 feet

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (1) 6-pdr., (3) 3-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic

Notes: Captured during war with Spain.

Class:

Complement:

Length: 119 feet

Maximum Draft: 6.66 feet

Name: *Castine*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: October 22, 1894

Displacement: 1318 tons

Beam: 32 feet

Main Battery: (8) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) Gatling gun

Notes:

Class: Machias

Complement: 153

Length: 204 feet

Maximum Draft: 14.33 feet

Name: *Charleston*

Type: Protected Cruiser

Commissioned: December 26, 1889

Displacement: 3,730 tons

Beam: 46.1 feet

Main Battery: (2) 8-inch guns, (6) 6-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 3-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics, (4) 37mm guns, (1) 3-inch field gun

Notes: Sunk off coast of Northern Luzon after striking uncharted reef.

Class:

Complement: 309

Length: 312.5 feet

Maximum Draft: 21.66 feet

Name: *Concord*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: February 14, 1891

Displacement: 1,815 tons

Beam: 36 feet

Main Battery: (6) 6-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (2) 6-pdrs., (2) 3-pdrs., (2) 37mm guns, (2) Gatling guns

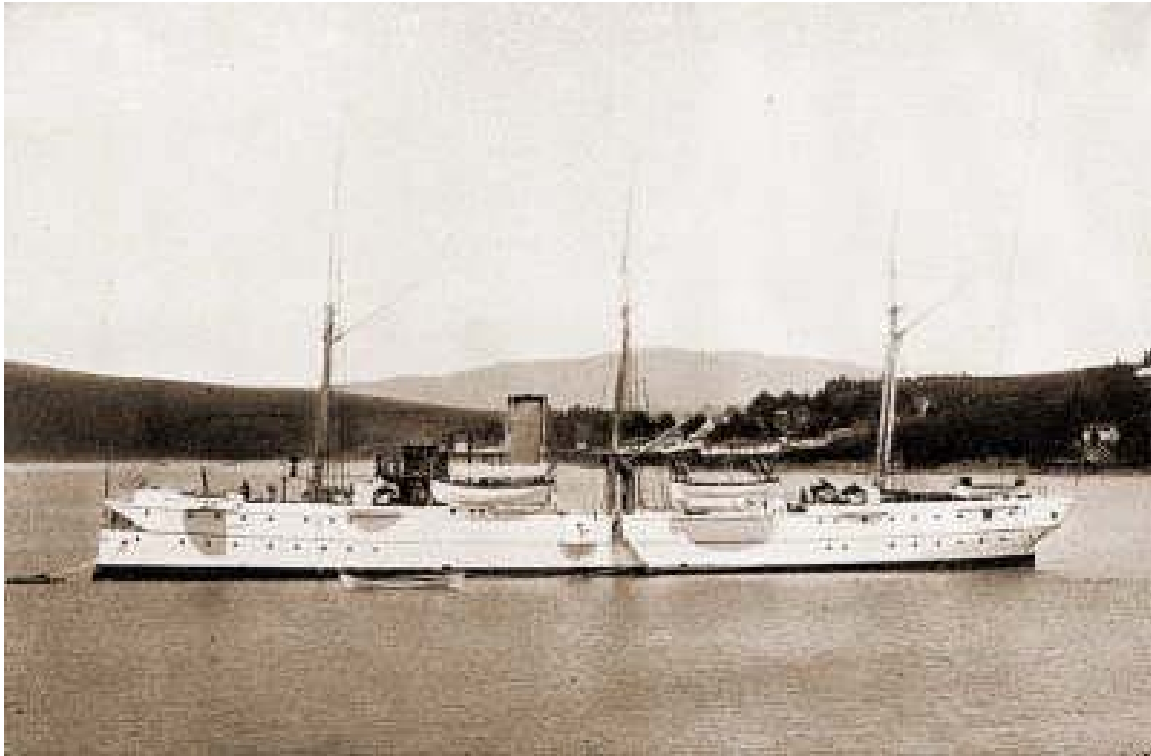
Notes:

Class: Yorktown

Complement: 194

Length: 230 feet

Maximum Draft: 16.5 feet



USS *Concord*

Name: *Don Juan de Austria*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: April 11, 1900

Displacement: 1,130 tons

Beam: 32 feet

Main Battery: (4) 5-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (4) 6mm Colt automatics

Notes: Captured during war with Spain.

Class: Don Juan de Austria

Complement:

Length: 210 feet

Maximum Draft: 12.5 feet

Name: *El Cano*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: November 20, 1902

Displacement: 560 tons

Beam:

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (4) 4-inch guns, (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics

Notes: Originally purchased by War Department.

Class: El Cano

Complement:

Length:

Maximum Draft:

Name: *Frolic*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: July 6, 1898

Displacement: 607 tons

Beam: 25 feet

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (4) 3-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics

Notes: Converted yacht.

Class:

Complement: 44

Length: 165 feet

Maximum Draft: 10.33 feet

Name: *General Alava*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: March 9, 1900

Displacement: 1,390 tons

Beam: 28.25 feet

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (2) 42mm Nordenfelt guns, (4) 11mm Nordenfelt guns.

Notes:

Class:

Complement:

Length: 212 feet

Maximum Draft: 16 feet

Name: *Guardoqui*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: June 2, 1899

Displacement: 42 tons

Beam:

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic

Notes: Originally purchased by War Department. Converted tugboat.

Class:

Complement:

Length:

Maximum Draft:

Name: *Helena*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: July 8, 1897

Displacement: 1,689 tons

Beam: 40 feet

Main Battery: (8) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics, (1) 3-inch field gun

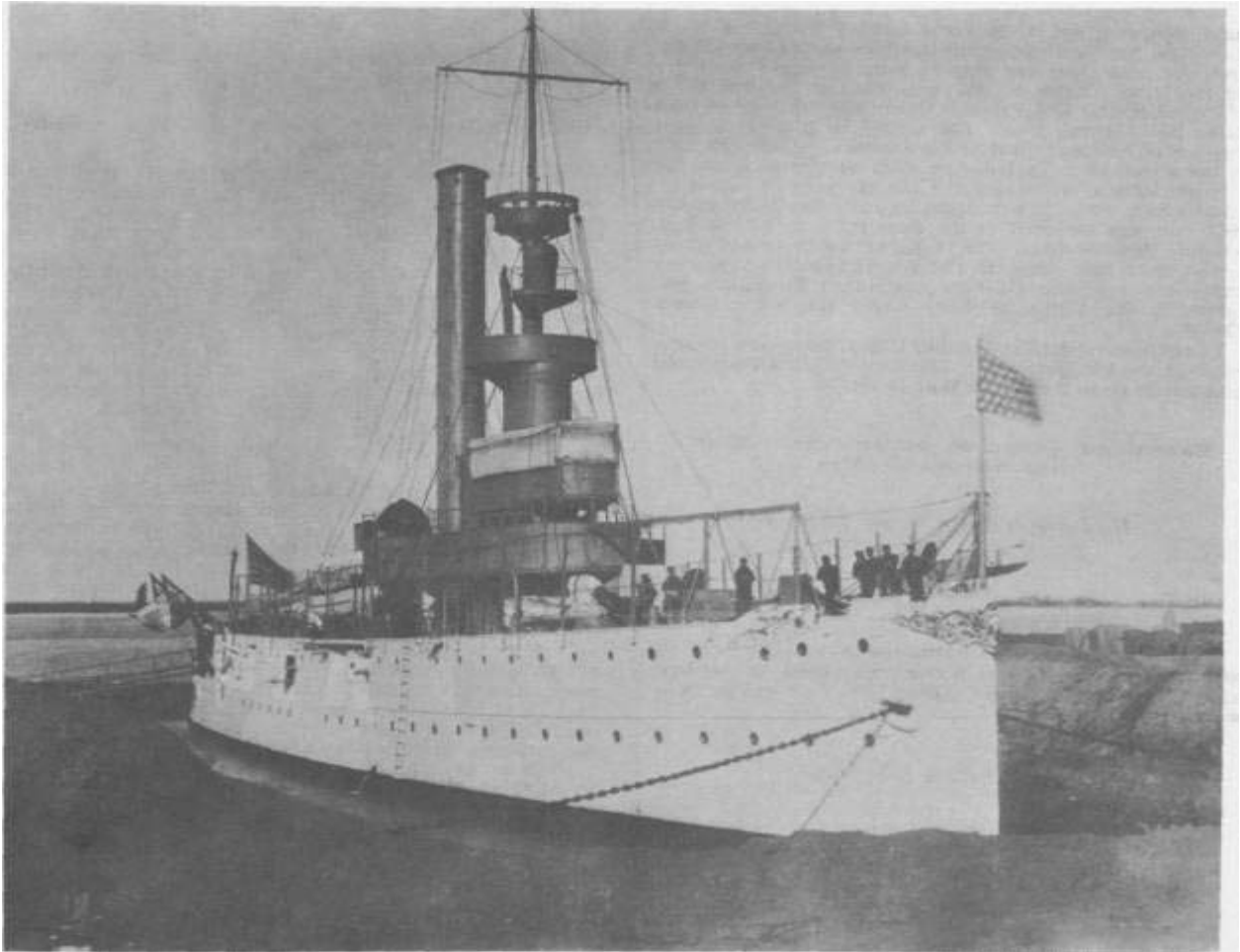
Notes:

Class: Wilmington

Complement: 170

Length: 250.75 feet

Maximum Draft: 11.75 feet



USS Helena

Name: *Isla de Cuba*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: April 11, 1900

Displacement: 1,125 tons

Beam: 30 feet

Main Battery: (4) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (4) 6mm Colt automatics

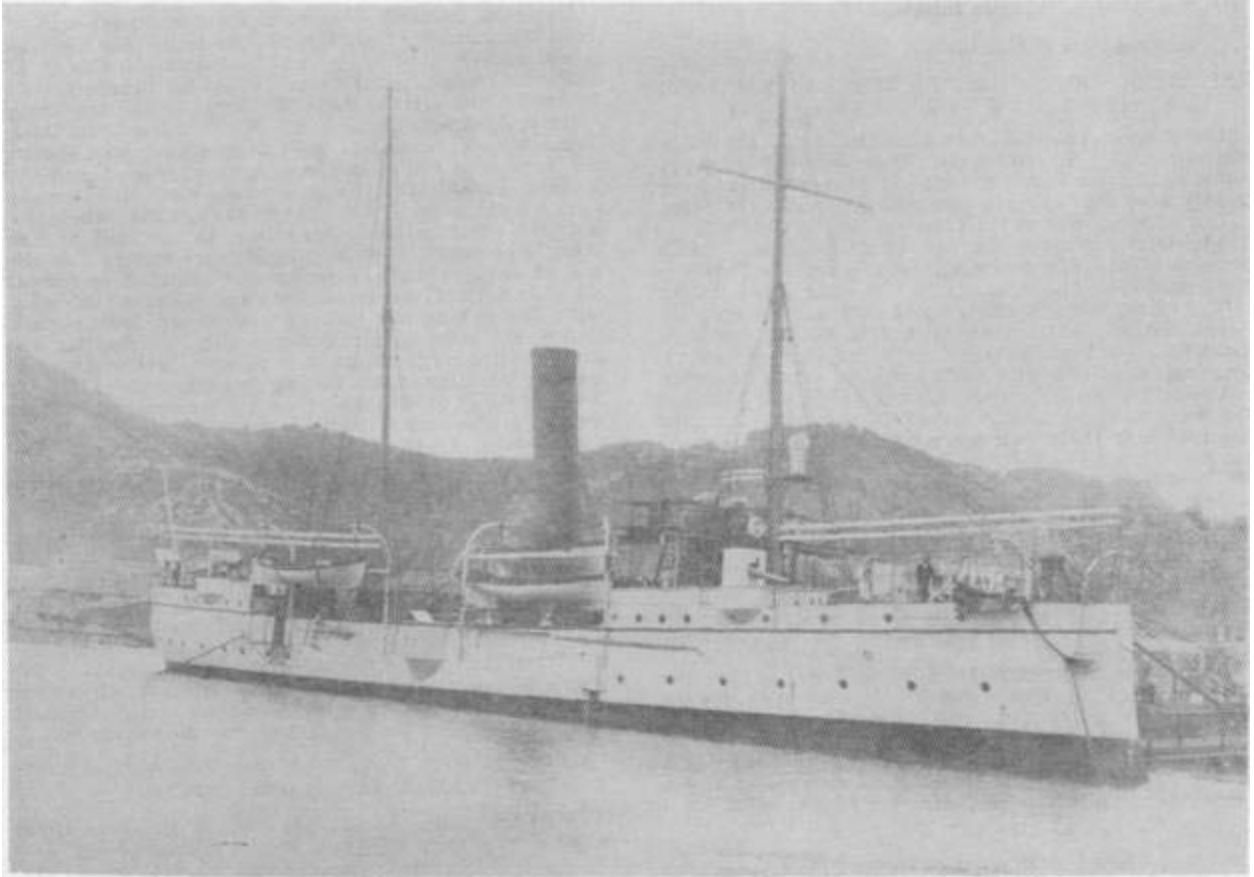
Notes: Captured during war with Spain.

Class: Isla de Luzon

Complement: 137

Length: 192 feet

Maximum Draft: 12.33 feet



USS *Isla de Cuba*

Name: *Isla de Luzon*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: January 30, 1900

Displacement: 1,125 feet

Beam: 30 feet

Main Battery: (4) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (4) 6mm Colt automatics

Notes: Captured during war with Spain.

Class: *Isla de Luzon*

Complement: 137

Length: 192 feet

Maximum Draft: 12.33 feet

Name: *Kentucky*

Type: Battleship

Commissioned:

Displacement: 12,905 feet

Beam: 72.1 feet

Main Battery: (4) 13-inch guns, (4) 8-inch guns, (14) 5-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (20) 6-pdrs., (8) 1-pdrs., (4) 6mm Colt automatics, (2) 3-inch field guns

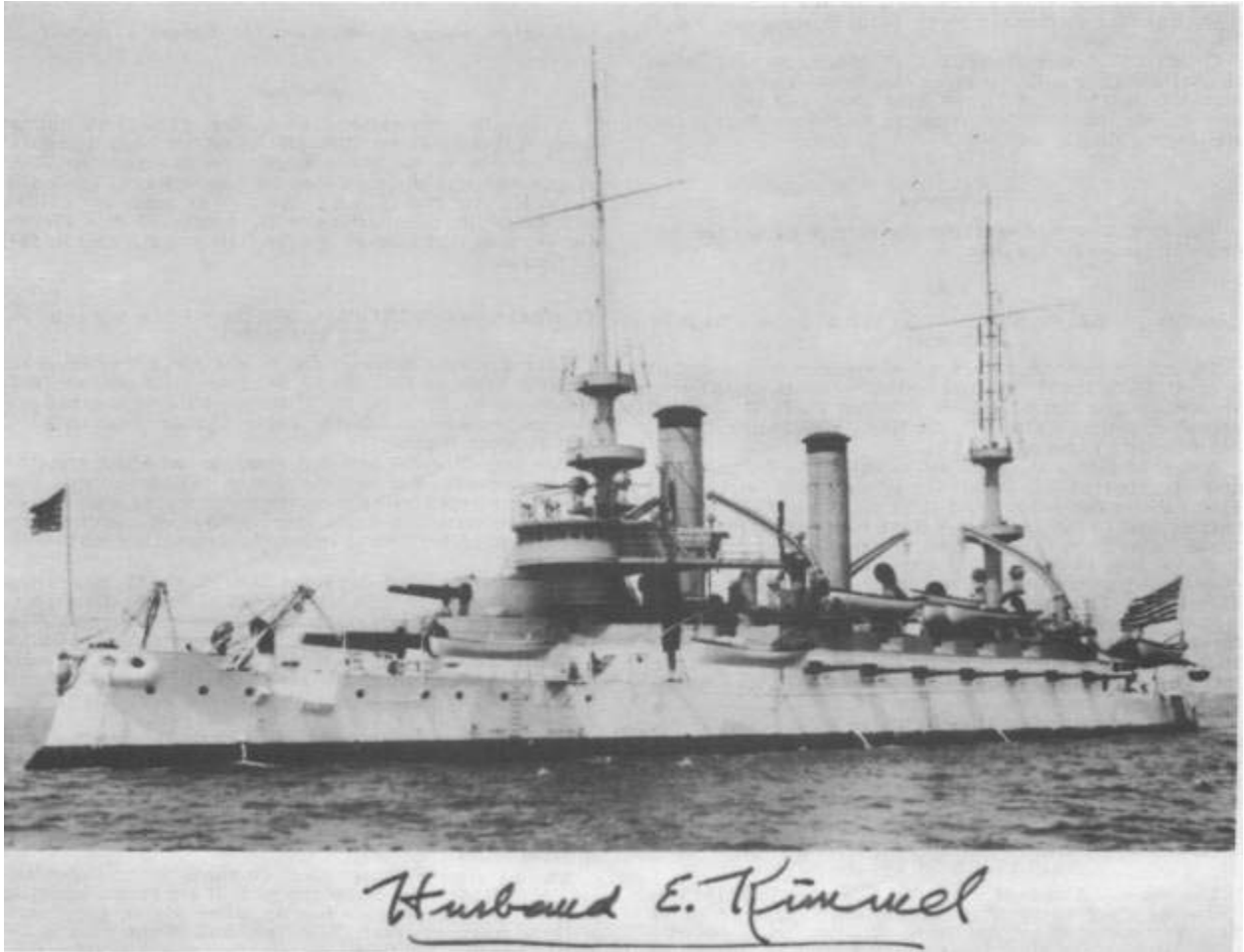
Notes:

Class: *Kearsage*

Complement:

Length: 368 feet

Maximum Draft: 25.9 feet



USS Kentucky

Name: *Leyte*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: March 22, 1900

Displacement: 151 tons

Beam: 17.5 feet

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (1) 6-pdr., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic

Notes: Captured during war with Spain.

Class:

Complement:

Length: 115 feet

Maximum Draft: 7.44 feet

Name: *Manila*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: July 31, 1898

Displacement: 1,750 tons

Beam: 31.1 feet

Main Battery: (4) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics

Notes: Captured during War with Spain.

Class:

Complement: 93

Length: 209.25 feet

Maximum Draft: 13.5 feet

Name: *Manileño*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: May 26, 1899
 Displacement: 142 tons
 Beam: 18 feet
 Main Battery:
 Secondary Battery: (1) 6-pdr., (1) 6mm Colt automatic, (2) 37mm guns, (2) Gatlings
 Notes: Originally purchased by War Department.

Name: *Marietta*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: September 1, 1897
 Displacement: 1,058 tons
 Beam: 34 feet
 Main Battery: (6) 4-inch guns
 Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic
 Notes:

Name: *Mariveles*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: June 17, 1899
 Displacement: 142 tons
 Beam: 16.5 feet
 Main Battery:
 Secondary Battery: (1) 3-pdr., (1) 37mm gun, (1) Gatling gun
 Notes: Originally purchased by War Department.

Name: *Mindoro*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: June 11, 1899
 Displacement: 142 tons
 Beam:
 Main Battery:
 Secondary Battery: (1) 3-pdr., (1) 37mm gun, (1) Gatling gun
 Notes: Originally purchased by War Department.

Name: *Monadnock*
 Type: Monitor
 Commissioned: February 20, 1896
 Displacement: 4,005 tons
 Beam: 55.5 feet
 Main Battery: (4) 10-inch guns, (2) 4-inch guns
 Secondary Battery: (2) 6-pdrs., (2) 3-pdrs., (2) 37mm guns, (2) 1-pdrs.
 Notes:

Name: *Monocacy*
Type: Gunboat
Commissioned:
Displacement: 1,370 tons
Beam: 35 feet
Main Battery:
Secondary Battery: (4) 37mm guns, (2) Gatling guns
Notes:

Class:
Complement: 158
Length: 255 feet
Maximum Draft: 9 feet

Name: *Monterey*
Type: Monitor
Commissioned: February 13, 1893
Displacement: 4,084 tons
Beam: 59 feet
Main Battery: (2) 12-inch guns, (2) 10-inch guns
Secondary Battery: (6) 6-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (2) Gatling guns, (1) 3-inch field gun
Notes:

Class:
Complement: 218
Length: 256 feet
Maximum Draft: 15.33 feet

Name: *Nashville*
Type: Gunboat
Commissioned: August 19, 1897
Displacement: 1,720 tons
Beam: 38 feet
Main Battery: (8) 4-inch guns
Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics, (1) 3-inch field gun
Notes:

Class: Nashville
Complement: 178
Length: 220 feet
Maximum Draft: 13.33 tons

Name: *Newark*
Type: Protected Cruiser
Commissioned: February 2, 1891
Displacement: 4,592 tons
Beam: 49.1 feet
Main Battery: (12) 6-inch guns
Secondary Battery: (8) 6-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics
Notes:

Class:
Complement: 393
Length: 311.5 feet
Maximum Draft: 23.25 feet

Name: *New Orleans*
Type: Protected Cruiser
Commissioned: March 18, 1898
Displacement: 4,001 tons
Beam: 43.75 feet
Main Battery: (6) 6-inch guns, (4) 4.7-inch guns
Secondary Battery: (10) 6-pdrs., (8) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics
Notes:

Class:
Complement: 365
Length: 346 feet
Maximum Draft: 19.75 feet

Name: *New York*

Type: Armored Cruiser

Commissioned: August 1, 1893

Displacement: 9,021 tons

Beam: 64.9 feet

Main Battery: (6) 8-inch guns, (12) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (8) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics

Notes:

Class:

Complement: 562

Length: 380.5 feet

Maximum Draft: 26.75 feet

Name: *Newport*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: October 5, 1897

Displacement: 1,128 tons

Beam: 36 feet

Main Battery: (6) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Cold automatic

Notes:

Class:

Complement: 135

Length: 168 feet

Maximum Draft: 13 feet

Name: *Olympia*

Type: Protected Cruiser

Commissioned: February 5, 1895

Displacement: 6,602 tons

Beam: 53 feet

Main Battery: (10) 5-inch guns, (4) 8-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (14) 6-pdrs., (7) 1-pdrs., (1) Gatling gun

Notes:

Class:

Complement: 447

Length: 340 feet

Maximum Draft: 24.75 feet

Name: *Oregon*

Type: Battleship

Commissioned: July 15, 1896

Displacement: 11,719 tons

Beam: 69.25 feet

Main Battery: (4) 13-inch guns, (8) 8-inch guns, (4) 6-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (20) 6-pdrs., (6) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics, (2) 3-inch field guns

Notes:

Class: Indiana

Complement: 494

Length: 348 feet

Maximum Draft: 27.1 feet

Name: *Pampanga*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: June 8, 1899

Displacement: 201 tons

Beam:

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (1) 6-pdr., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic

Notes: Originally purchased by War Department.

Class:

Complement:

Length:

Maximum Draft:

Name: *Panay*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: June 2, 1899
 Displacement: 142 tons
 Beam:
 Main Battery:
 Secondary Battery: (1) 6-pdr., (1) 3-pdr., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic, (1) Gatling
 Notes: Originally purchased by War Department.

Class:
 Complement:
 Length:
 Maximum Draft:

Name: *Paragua*
 Type:
 Commissioned: May 26, 1899
 Displacement: 201 tons
 Beam:
 Main Battery:
 Secondary Battery:
 Notes: Originally purchased by War Department

Class:
 Complement:
 Length: feet
 Maximum Draft:

Name: *Petrel*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: December 10, 1889
 Displacement: 956 tons
 Beam: 31 feet
 Main Battery: (4) 6-inch guns
 Secondary Battery: (2) 3-pdrs., (2) 37mm guns, (2) Gatling guns
 Notes:

Class: Petrel
 Complement: 132
 Length: 176.25 feet
 Maximum Draft: 13.5 feet

Name: *Piscataqua*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned:
 Displacement: 854 tons
 Beam: 28.5 feet
 Main Battery:
 Secondary Battery: (4) 1-pdrs.
 Notes: Converted tugboat

Class:
 Complement:
 Length: 149 feet
 Maximum Draft: 12 feet

Name: *Princeton*
 Type: Gunboat
 Commissioned: May 27, 1898
 Displacement: 1,128 tons
 Beam: 36 feet
 Main Battery: (6) 4-inch guns
 Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic
 Notes:

Class: Annapolis
 Complement: 147
 Length: 168 feet
 Maximum Draft: 14.5 feet

Name: *Quiros*
Type: Gunboat
Commissioned: March 14, 1900
Displacement: 347 tons
Beam: 22.5 feet
Main Battery: (2) 6-pdr. Nordenfelt guns
Secondary Battery: (2) 37mm guns
Notes:

Class:
Complement:
Length: 145 feet
Maximum Draft:

Name: *Raleigh*
Type: Protected Cruiser
Commissioned: April 17, 1894
Displacement: 3,462 tons
Beam: 42 feet
Main Battery: (11) 5-inch guns
Secondary Battery: (8) 6-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics, (1) 3-inch field gun
Notes:

Class: Cincinnati
Complement: 313
Length: 300 feet
Maximum Draft: 20.25 feet

Name: *Samar*
Type: Gunboat
Commissioned: May 26, 1899
Displacement: 201 tons
Beam: 18 feet
Main Battery: (1) 6-pdrs.
Secondary Battery: (1) 3-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic
Notes: Originally purchased by War Department

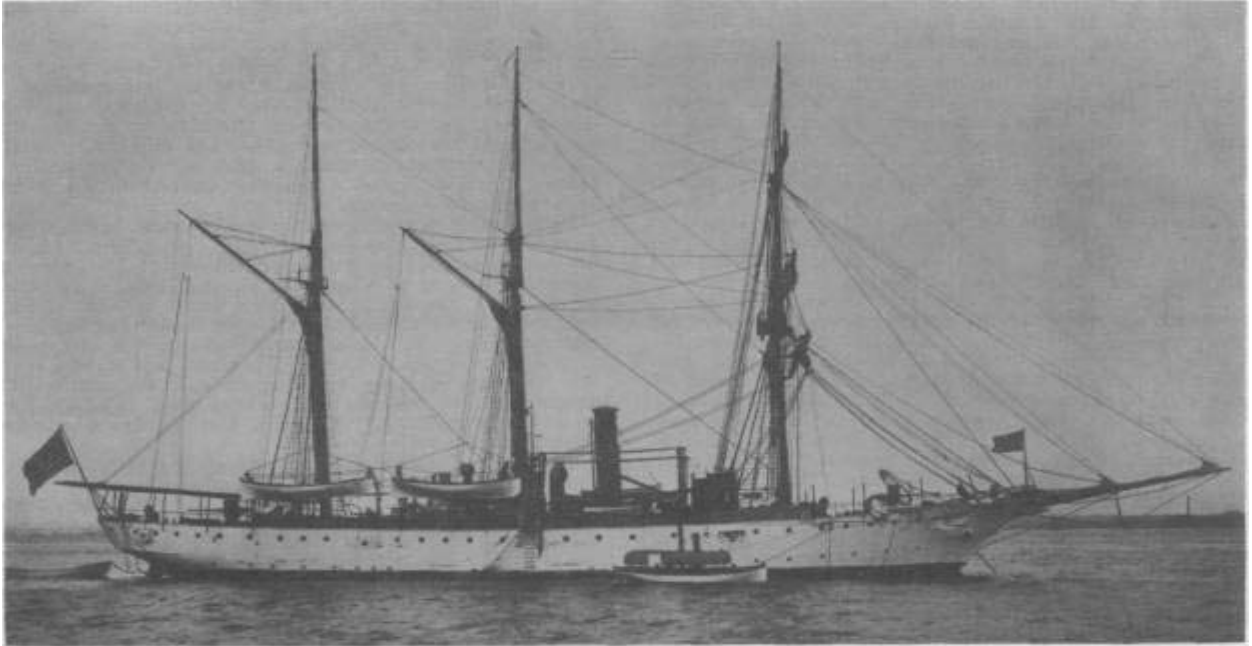
Class:
Complement: 30
Length: 113.75 feet
Maximum Draft: 8 feet

Name: *Urdaneta*
Type: Gunboat
Commissioned: May 12, 1899
Displacement: 42 tons
Beam: 12.25 feet
Main Battery:
Secondary Battery: (1) 1-pdr., (1) 37mm gun, (1) 6mm Colt automatic
Notes: Originally purchased by War Department.

Class:
Complement: 15
Length: 71.5 feet
Maximum Draft: 6.125 feet

Name: *Vicksburg*
Type: Gunboat
Commissioned: October 23, 1897
Displacement: 1,128 tons
Beam: 36 feet
Main Battery: (6) 4-inch guns
Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatics
Notes:

Class: Annapolis
Complement: 135
Length: 168 feet
Maximum Draft: 12.75 feet



USS *Vicksburg*

Name: *Villalobos*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: March 5, 1900

Displacement: 347 tons

Beam: feet

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (2) 6-pdrs., (1) Colt

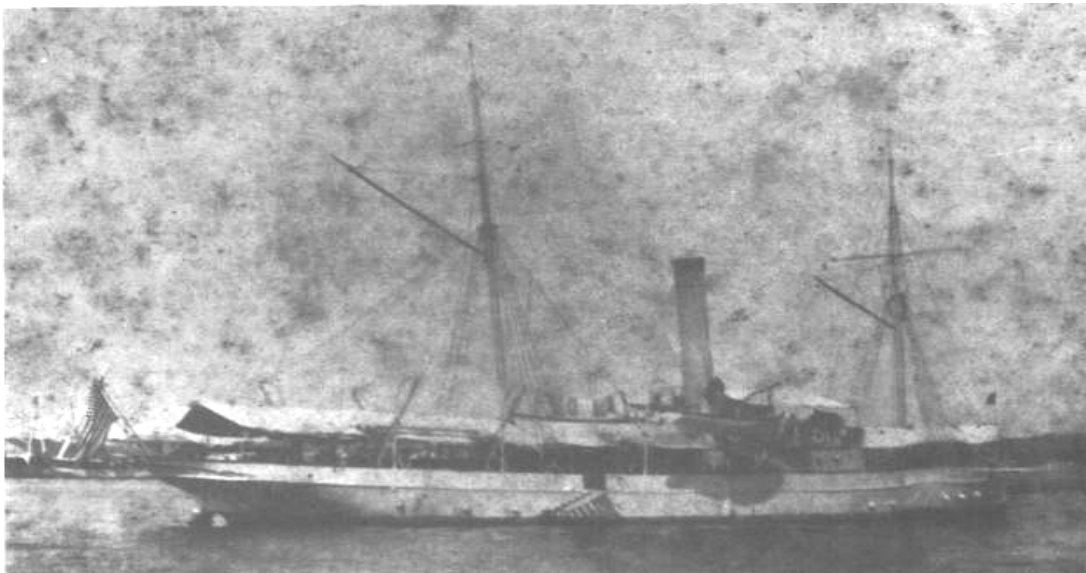
Notes:

Class:

Complement:

Length: feet

Maximum Draft: feet



USS *Villalobos*

Name: *Wheeling*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: August 10, 1897

Displacement: 1,170 tons

Beam: 34 feet

Main Battery: (6) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (2) 1-pdrs., (1) 6mm Colt automatic

Notes:

Class: Wheeling

Complement: 142

Length: 174 feet

Maximum Draft: 13 feet

Name: *Wilmington*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: May 13, 1897

Displacement: 1,689 tons

Beam: 40 feet

Main Battery: (8) 4-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (4) 6-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (4) 6mm Colt automatics

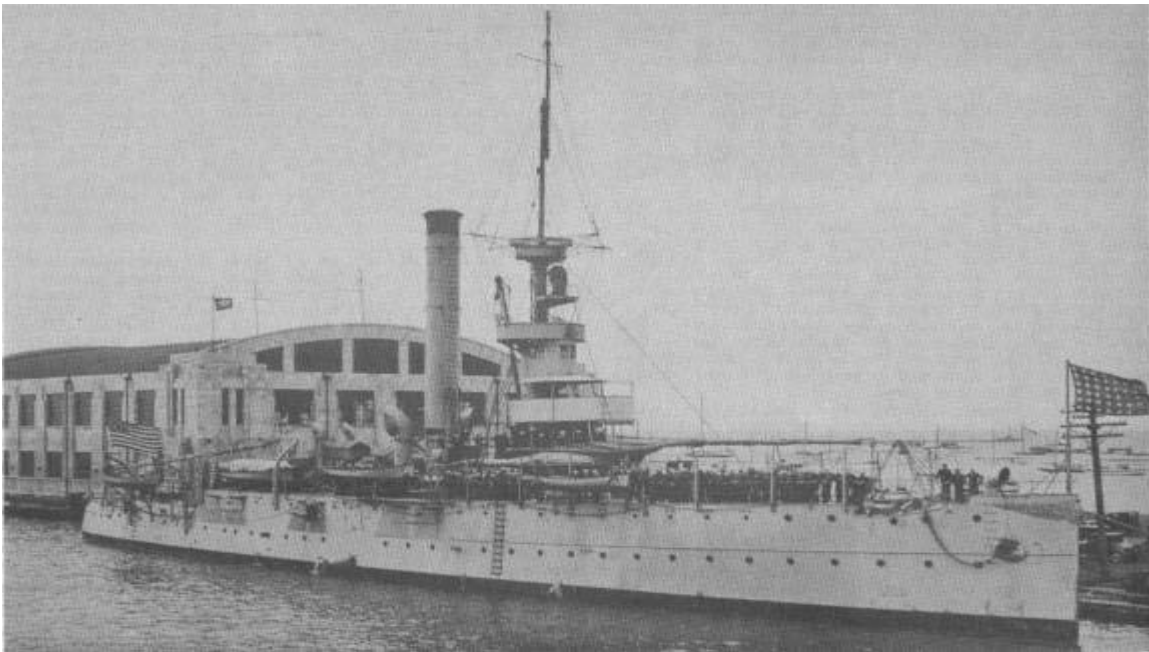
Notes:

Class:

Complement: 170

Length: 250.75 feet

Maximum Draft: 11.75 feet



USS *Wilmington*

Name: *Wompatuck*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned:

Displacement: 462 tons

Beam: 25.5 feet

Main Battery:

Secondary Battery: (3) 1-pdrs.

Notes: Converted tugboat

Class:

Complement:

Length: 117.5 feet

Maximum Draft: 12 feet

Name: *Yorktown*

Type: Gunboat

Commissioned: April 23, 1889

Displacement: 1,921 tons

Beam: 36 feet

Main Battery: (6) 6-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (2) 6-pdrs., (2) 3-pdrs., (4) 1-pdrs., (2) 6mm Colt automatics

Notes:

Class: Yorktown

Complement: 195

Length: 230 feet

Maximum Draft: 16.5 feet

Name: *Yosemite*

Type: Auxiliary Cruiser

Commissioned: April 13, 1898

Displacement: 6,179 tons

Beam: 48 feet

Main Battery: (2) 5-inch guns

Secondary Battery: (6) 6-pdrs., (2) Colt automatics

Notes:

Class:

Complement: 285

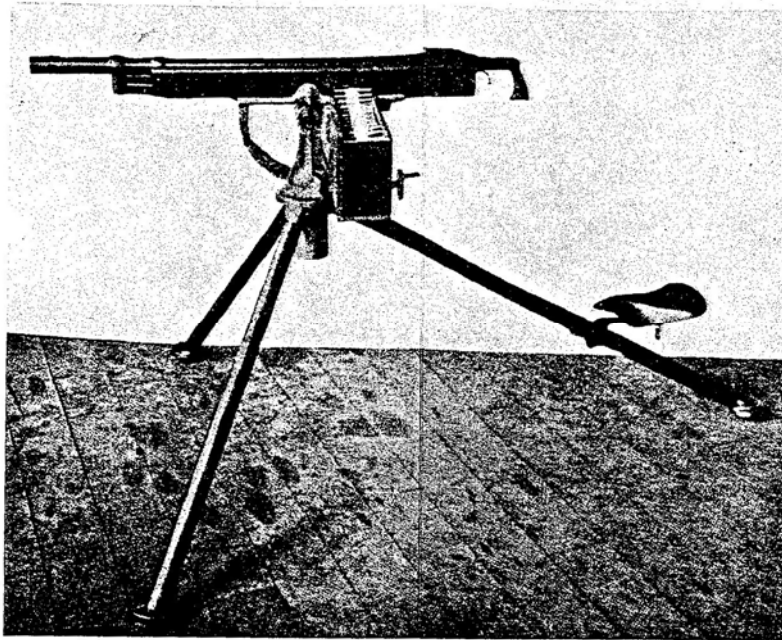
Length: 389.1 feet

Maximum Draft: 20.1 feet

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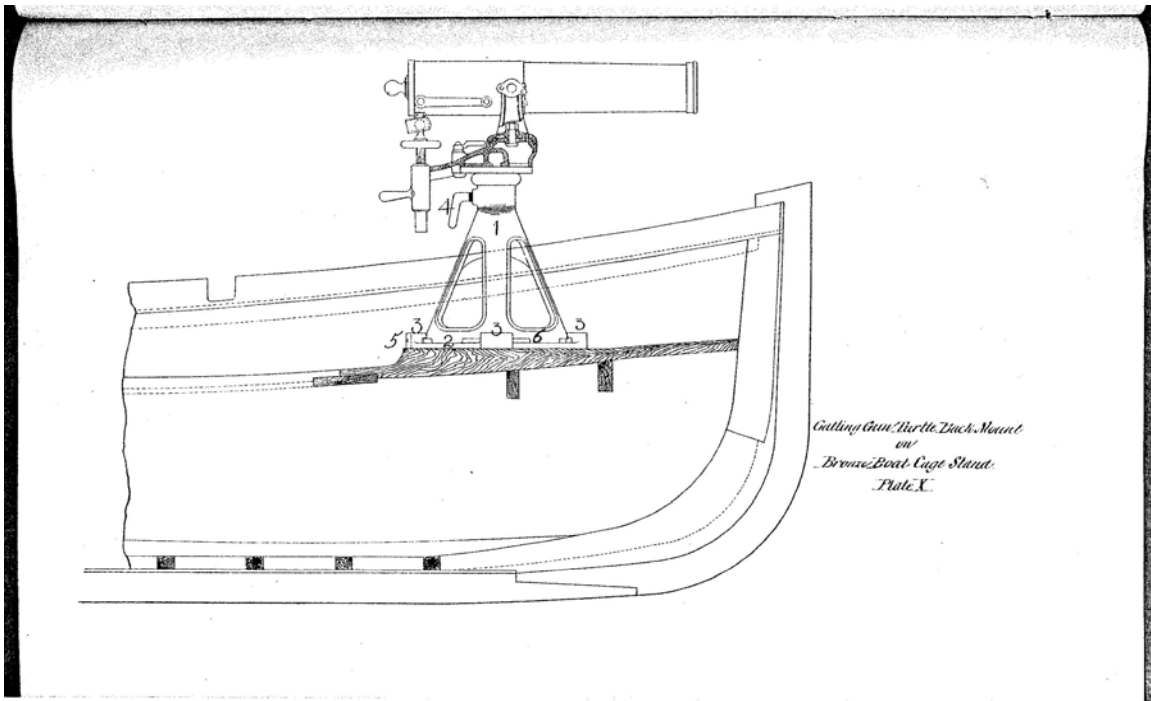
VII. APPENDIX B. U.S. NAVAL GUNS OF THE PHILIPPINE INSURRECTION

The following is a collection of illustrations of the naval guns used by ships on Asiatic Station within the Philippines.⁵⁰⁷

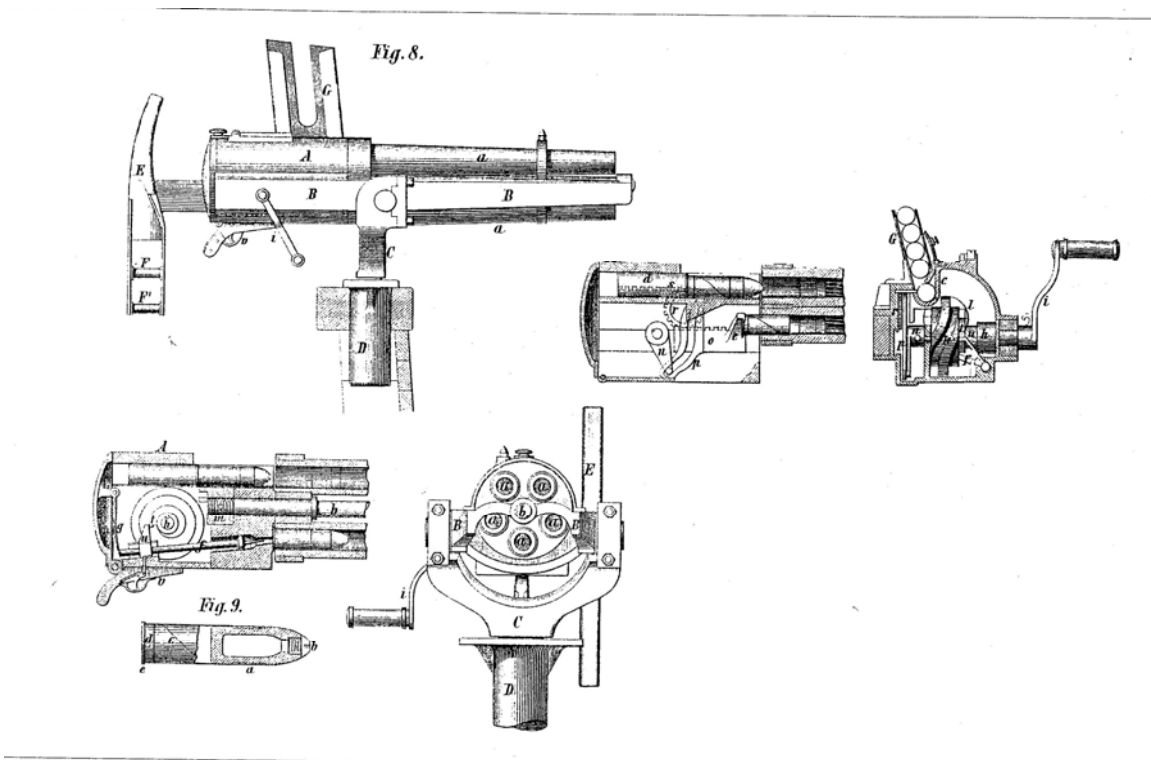


6mm Colt Automatic

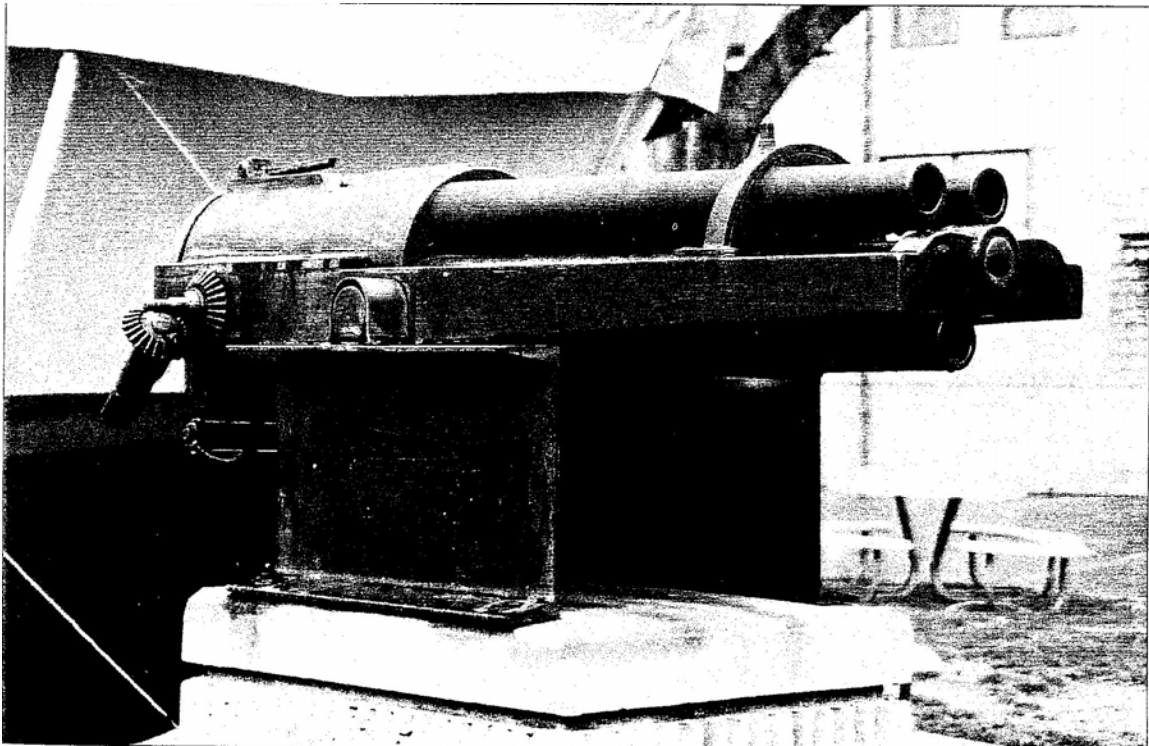
⁵⁰⁷ Navy, *Annual Reports for*, 760-761. Hans Mehl, *Naval Guns: 500 Years of Ship and Coastal Artillery* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2002), 61-85. United States Navy Department, Bureau of Ordnance, *Description of Modern Gun Mounts in the United States Navy* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1894), 16-17.



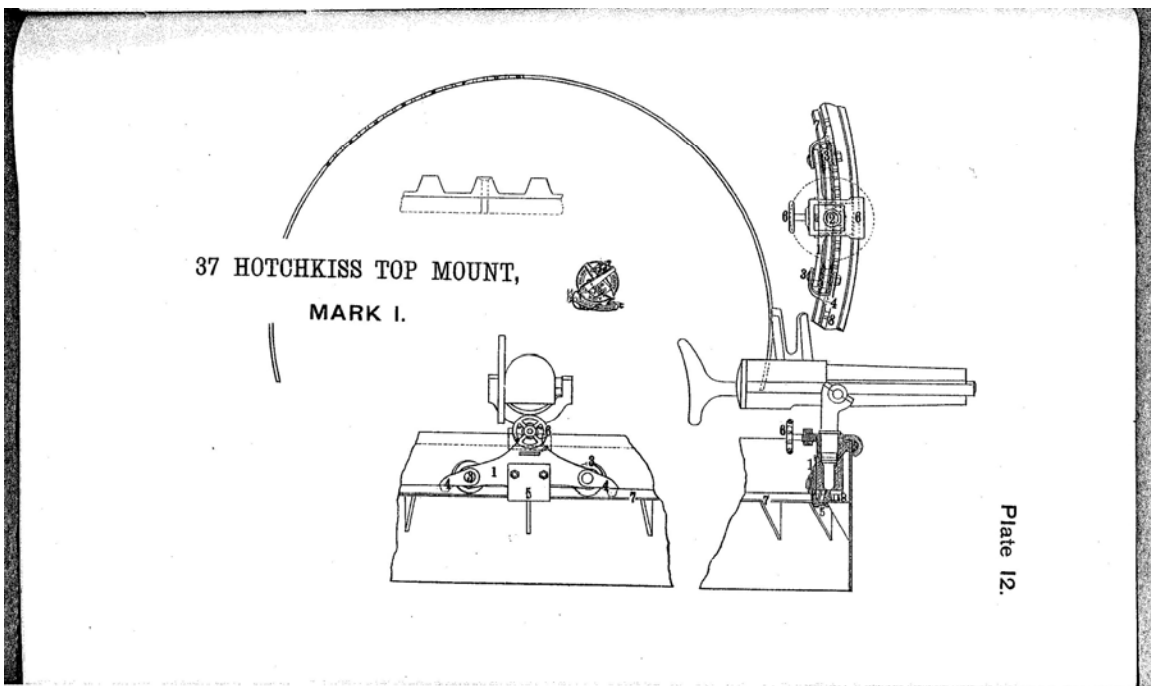
45 Caliber Gatling Gun



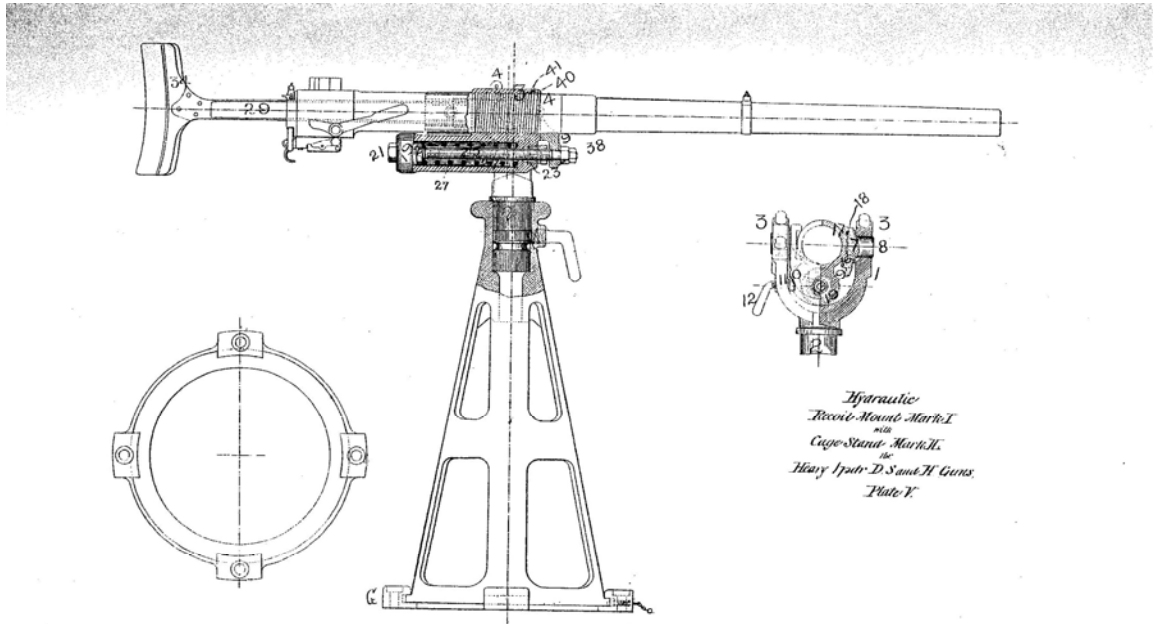
37mm Hotchkiss Gun Diagram



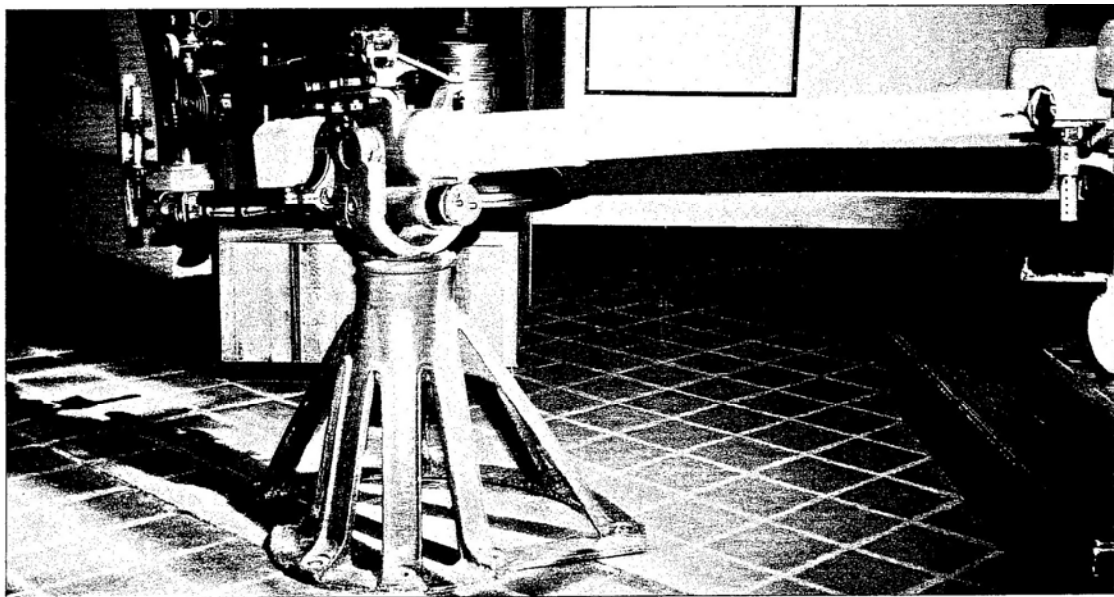
37mm Hotchkiss Gun



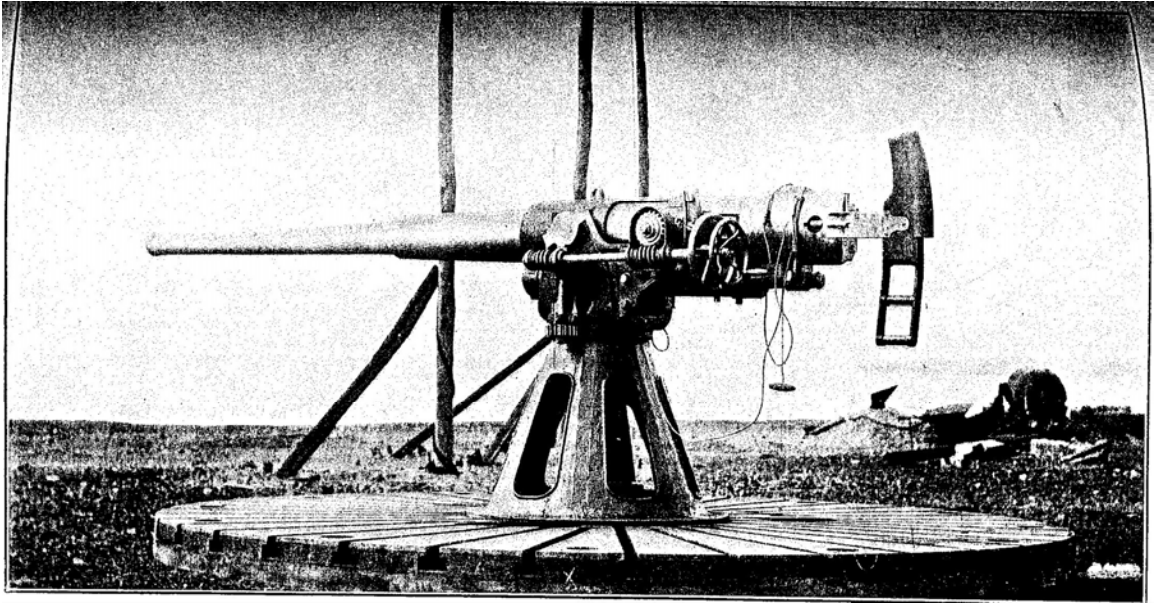
37mm Hotchkiss Gun Mount



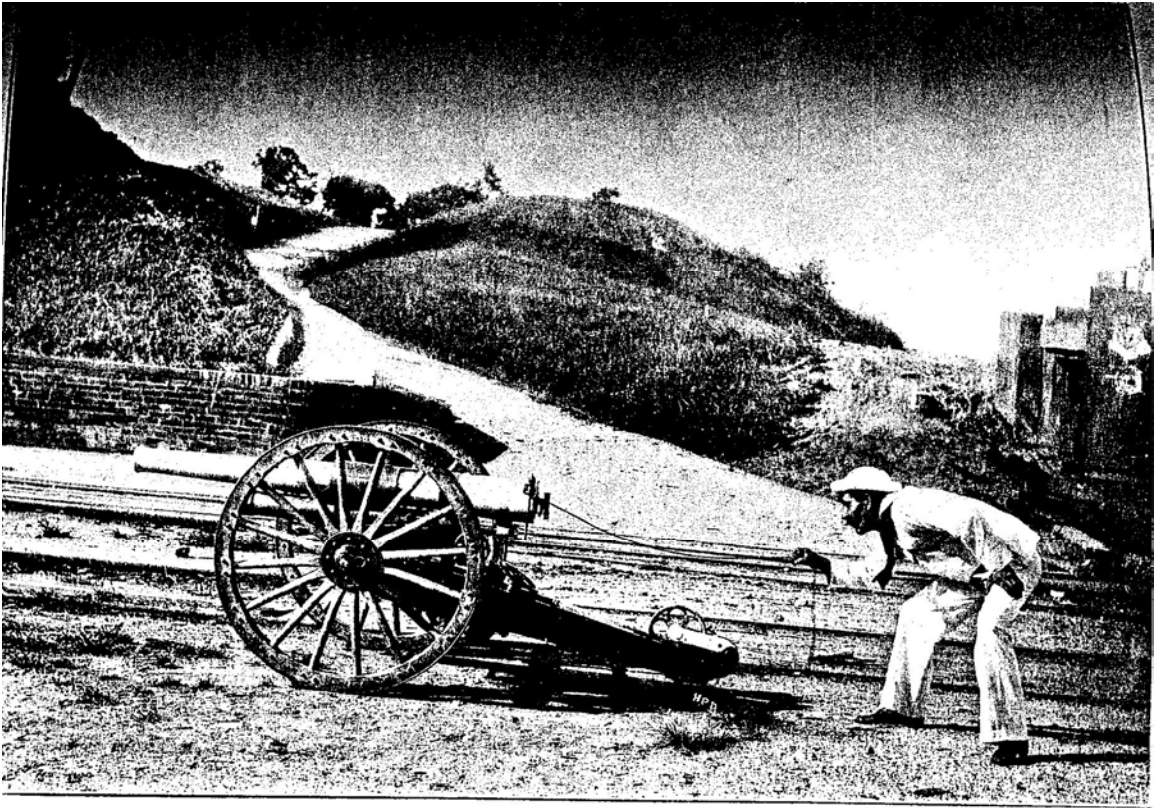
1-Pdr. Gun



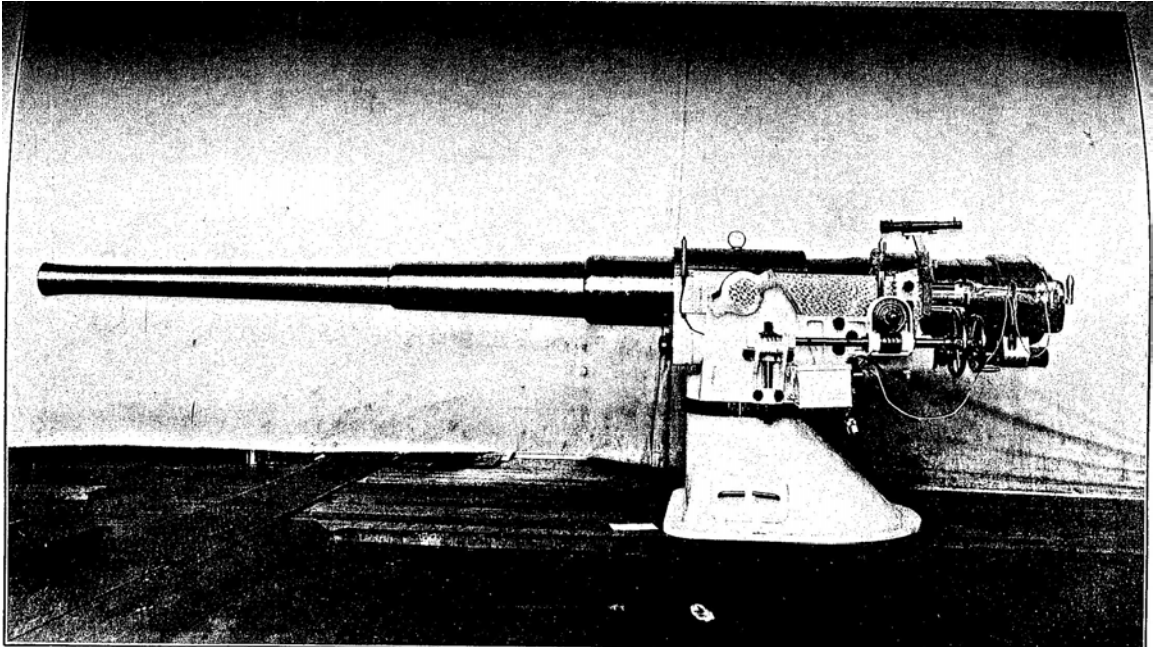
3-Pdr. Gun



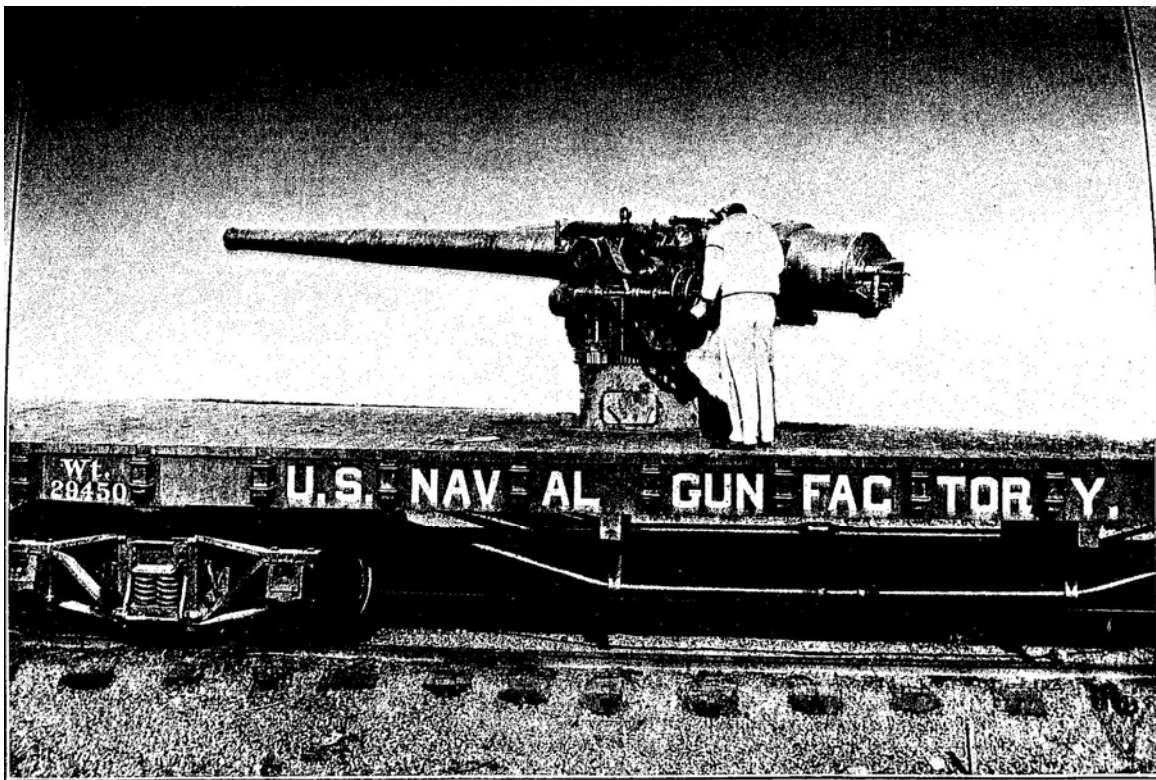
3-Inch Gun



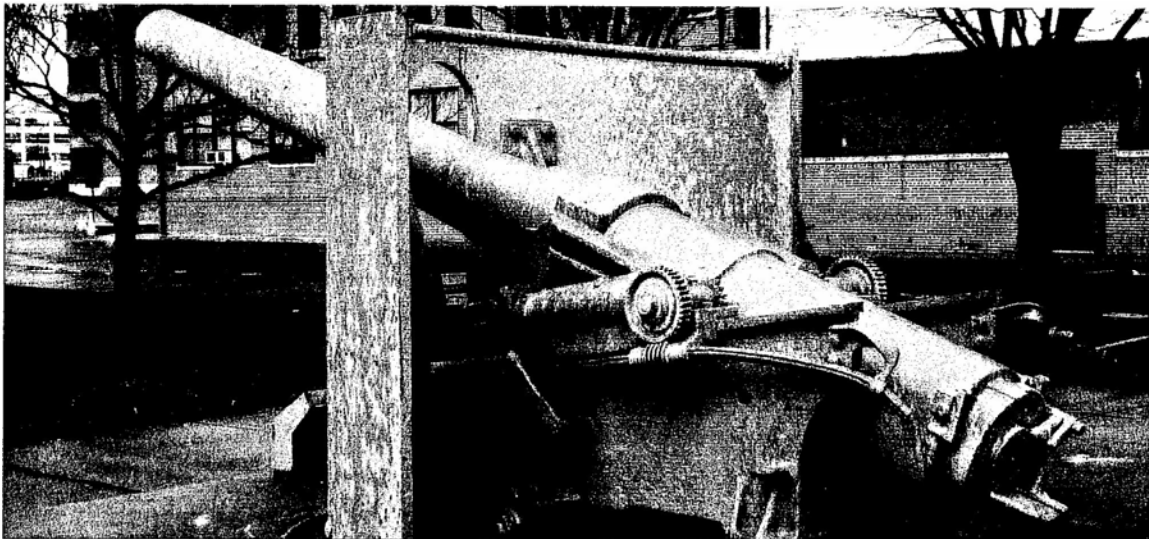
3-Inch Field Gun



4-Inch Gun



5-Inch Gun



6-Inch Gun

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